

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Stop racist drive

Join the Boston freedom march!

The national "Freedom March for Human Dignity" called by Black and trade-union leaders for Dec. 14 in Boston can strike a powerful blow against the racist mobs trying to block school desegregation there.

"The eyes of the nation and the world are now focused on Boston," said state senator-elect William Owens of the Massachusetts legislative Black Caucus in calling for the demonstration.

Boston has become a national battle-

is fertile ground for recruits.

The Black children of Boston and their parents are up against powerful foes in their struggle for quality education. The federal judge who ordered the busing found that there has been a decade-long conspiracy by the all-white, all-Democratic Boston school committee to restrict Black students to inferior schools.

This is the issue in Boston: the right of Black children to attend desegregated schools in search of a better education. The pious talk about "neighborhood schools" is nothing but a cover-up for segregation and racism.

The segregationist conspirators are highly organized and well financed. They have received aid and comfort from President Ford, from the antibusing bills passed by Congress, and from recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions such as the rulings against busing in Detroit and Richmond, Va.

While the racists have organized a boycott of school and have poured into the streets by the thousands week after week, few voices have been heard or protests organized to answer them. The cowardly silence of the liberal politicians—from the mayor of Boston to the governor of Massachusetts to Senator Edward Kennedy—only encourages the mobs

to continue their campaign of violence.

This is a national struggle, as the segregationists well know. They are beginning to mobilize support from opponents of busing around the country. Already in New York an earlier busing plan is being watered down by state authorities.

The racist offensive can be defeated. But it will take a massive national countermobilization by supporters of civil rights.

The Freedom Riders of the early 1960s went South to batter down the walls of Jim Crow segregation. Now it's time for Freedom Rides "up-South," to Boston.

"Our voices must be heard," Owens stated, "and we appeal, therefore, to every individual, every organization, every city, and every state to join with us in a demonstration to let the school committee and others similarly situated know that we will no longer tolerate the injustices that are being perpetrated on our children."

In every area, those who already know about and are building the Dec. 14 action are calling meetings to begin organizing publicity, outreach, and transportation to Boston. To start with, of course, Black organizations

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An editorial

ground. Reactionary forces are on the offensive to stop any progress toward genuine equality for Black people and, if they can get away with it, to begin rolling back the gains of the civil rights movement.

Their code words are "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools," but the mobs screaming "niggers go home" and hurling rocks at Black children tell the real story. So does the fact that racist scum like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis have turned up in South Boston, sensing that the "antibusing" movement



Israeli paratroopers drag away a Palestinian demonstrator in Jerusalem Nov. 18. For Mideast coverage see pages 8-11.

Israeli troops attack Palestinian protesters

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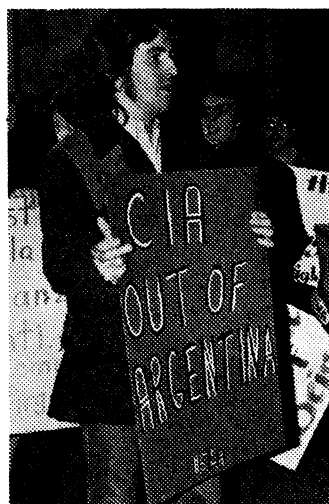
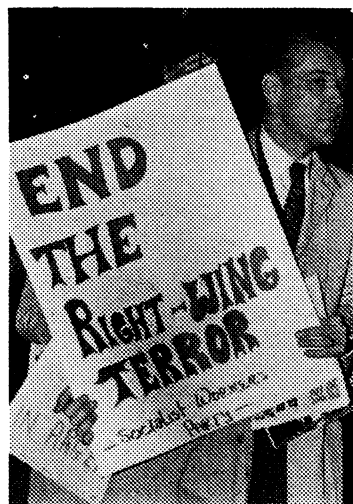
IRANIAN TOURS MIDWEST ON SHAH'S REPRESSION: Fariborz Khasha, national field secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), spoke at Ohio State University Nov. 12. The meeting, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Arab American Association, was attended by 85 people, including Iranians, Arabs, and other international students in the Columbus area.

Khasha is now on a midwest tour to publicize the shah's terror and build support for CAIFI.

The speech aroused considerable interest on the campus. The campus radio broadcast an interview with Khasha and the student newspaper, the *Lantern*, gave front-page coverage to the event.

PROTEST ARGENTINE STATE OF SIEGE: Eighty people picketed the Argentine consulate in New York Nov. 14 chanting "End the state of siege!" and "Stop the right-wing terror in Argentina!" A fact sheet passed out by the protesters pointed to the recent murders of six members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) and at least one member of the Argentine Communist Party by right-wing goon squads working in collaboration with the police.

The protest was sponsored by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the



Militant/Blanca Fernandez

Nov. 14 picket line at Argentine consulate in New York City

Latin American Students Organization, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Dolores Schaffer of USLA spoke at the conclusion of the picket, calling the state of siege declared earlier this month by Argentine President Isabel Peron "a death warrant for the Argentine people." She noted that the effect of the repression would be to leave the Argentine workers and students defenseless in the face of the growing rightist terror campaign.

On Saturday, Nov. 30, ABC-TV will run an hour-long documentary on the Teamsters union. The program will be aired at 8 p.m. Eastern Standard Time. Among those interviewed is Farrell Dobbs, who was the central strategist of the Teamsters' campaign to organize the over-the-road drivers in the 1930s. Dobbs, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, is the author of *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, two books on the history of the union.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO APPEAL WOUNDED KNEE DECISION: The Justice Department is "almost certain" to appeal the dismissal of charges against Wounded Knee leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means, the government said Nov. 8.

Robert Bork, U.S. solicitor general, has ordered the preparations for the appeal and preliminary approval for the filing, according to the *Minneapolis Tribune* Nov. 9.

A Justice Department spokesperson said it was "unlikely but possible" that the decision to appeal would be reversed. The government has until Nov. 18 to appeal, but it may seek extension of the deadline.

A defense attorney termed the government's plan to appeal "outrageous."

Charges against Banks and Means were dismissed Sept. 16 by U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol, who accused the government of fabricating and withholding evidence and of general misconduct during the trial. Banks and Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement, had been framed for their leadership of the seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1973. They were protesting anti-Indian policies of the government including the breaking of many Indian treaties.

BERKELEY TEACH-IN PROTESTS CHILE JUNTA: A teach-in on "The CIA and Chile" at the University of California at Berkeley Nov. 7 drew 150 people.

The main speaker was Richard Fagan, a national executive board member of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fagan recently testified before the House subcommittee investigating the CIA's role in Chile.

Fred Hirsch, chairman of the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile and author of *An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America*, explained the involvement of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Chile.

Other speakers represented the Socialist Workers Party, the American Congress on Latin America, and Non-Intervention in Chile.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST LEAVENWORTH DEFENDANT: All charges against Jesse Lopez, one of the Leavenworth Brothers, were dismissed by U.S. District Court Judge Frank Theis Nov. 6. Lopez had been charged with four counts of kidnapping in connection with the July 1973 rebellion at Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary. His codefendant, Armando Miramon, still faces kidnapping charges and an assault charge.

Theis ruled that the government had produced no evidence to warrant continuation of the trial against Lopez.

So far in the frame-up trials stemming from the 1973 rebellion, four defendants have been convicted.

DALLAS CHICANOS DEMAND NEW NAME FOR SCHOOL: About 175 spirited Chicanos picketed the Dallas Independent School District's Nov. 13 board meeting to protest its refusal to rename an elementary school in the Chicano community. The Chicanos want to rename the Gabe P. Allen elementary school after Emiliano Zapata, the famous Mexican revolutionary. Gabe Allen was a former member of the school board and an Anglo.

Demonstrators, led by the Brown Berets, picketed the board meeting, chanting "Gringo no, Zapata si!" and "Que Viva La Raza!"

Although the school is 90 percent Chicano, the board said that to change the name to Zapata "would imply that it is a Chicano school."

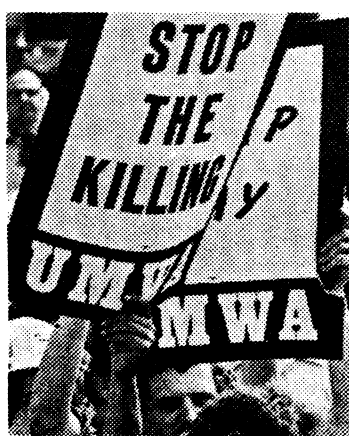
THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: *Los Barrios*, a Chicano newspaper published in Hondo, Tex., reprinted Elizabeth Stone's Oct. 18 *Militant* article entitled "KKK scum in Boston: 'Real issue is niggers.'" The article appears in the Oct. 22 issue of *Los Barrios*.

The *Militant's* coverage of the racist antidesegregation drive in Boston has been warmly received by Black newspapers, and a number of them have reprinted our articles on the Boston situation. That Chicano newspapers are also picking these articles up is a sign of the interest in the Chicano community in knowing the truth about what's happening in Boston.

—NORMAN OLIVER

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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Mine workers—on strike for safe working conditions and decent pay—are in the forefront of the struggle today against Ford's 'tighten your belts' policy. Keep up with developments in the strike through *The Militant's* on-the-scene reports and analysis. Subscribe today.

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Safety or 'death-as-usual'?

Miners fight to control job conditions

By CINDY JAQUITH

If you're a coal miner, one of your co-workers gets killed every other working day. If you're an asbestos worker, you and your whole family may be slowly dying of cancer.

The shocking safety standards in U. S. industry are coming under growing attack from workers. The current strike by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)—in which safety is a central issue—has helped to focus public attention on the problem and on the giant corporations that are responsible.

Increased consciousness about safety on the job comes at a time when big business wants to cut back on its already inadequate health standards. The capitalists argue that to overcome inflation and the energy crisis, we need increased "productivity." And to increase productivity, we need to throw out such costly and time-consuming "nuisances" as regulations on safety at the workplace.

What would happen if the profiteers went full speed ahead on their productivity plans? A look at the experience of the miners gives the answer.

Mine productivity

This year, the coal operators had hoped to produce 635 million tons of soft (bituminous) coal. This would have been a record amount, even more than the 620 million tons dug in 1944 to supply U. S. wartime industry.

In 1944, however, there were 450,000 UMWA miners producing that coal; today, 120,000 union members can produce the same amount and more.

The mechanization that has made possible the slashing of the mining work force represents a technological advance that could benefit the miners and society as a whole. But the only beneficiaries to date have been the coal operators.

The technology used to boost productivity hasn't been applied to the problem of injuries and fatalities. Instead, mechanization has introduced new kinds of dangers for the mine worker.

Between 1960 and 1969, according to the UMWA research department, the amount of underground coal produced went up 22 percent. At the same time, the employment in the underground mines went down 30 percent. In other words, 30 percent fewer miners were producing 22 percent more coal.

At this pace, productivity reached a peak in 1968 of 19 tons per worker-shift. *The death rate in the mines also peaked that year—311 miners were killed, the highest number since 1960.*

Growing outrage over this unnecessary slaughter forced Congress to pass the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act in 1969. While the law is inadequate, it has helped bring down the death rate.

But compared with European mines, the fatality rate in U. S. mines is still fantastically high. In Britain, for example, 80 miners were killed last year out of a work force of 260,000, while in this country, 132 miners died out of a work force of 125,000. The U. S. miner produces five times as much coal per day as the British miner.

Miners call halt

The UMWA called a halt to the murderous production pace when it entered contract negotiations in September, declaring that "coal will be mined safely or not at all."

As initial steps toward making the mines safer, the union focused on four contract demands:



This miner escaped death in 1968 explosion at Consolidation Coal's mine in Farmington, W. Va., but 78 others didn't. 1968 was record year for productivity and record year for fatalities.

- Helpers on all dangerous machinery.
- Improved training for new miners.
- A company-paid, union-elected safety inspector in each mine.
- The right of the individual miner to walk out of an unsafe mine.

While the union was fighting for these demands at the bargaining table, many of the big coal executives were attending President Ford's "Economic Summit," applauding the frequent calls made there for reduced health, safety, and environmental standards in industry.

The report to the summit from the Natural Resources and Recreation panel, for example, raised strong protests against the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) of 1970. The report said that "one mining executive observed that OSHA and corresponding mine safety legislation had helped reduce fatalities in the mines to half their previous level. Another claimed that, whatever its benefits, OSHA had reduced productivity by 30 percent. . . ." Far be it from these capitalists to let a few hundred lives stand in the way of productivity!

If there were no resistance from miners and other workers, these bloodsuckers would waste no time at all in reversing all the gains of OSHA and mine safety laws. The miners' strike is a challenge to their stepped-up attacks on safety. Any gains won by the UMWA for miners will make it harder for the bosses in other industries to carry out their murderous speedup plans.

The UMWA safety demands also raise another issue that is on the minds of many workers: Who decides the job conditions at the workplace? Should the workers choose their own safety inspectors, or must they depend on company and government agents? Can the workers refuse to work under dangerous conditions, or does the company have the final say on what is safe and what is unsafe?

The miners' demand for the right to determine safety is based on bitter experience. The fight against black lung is one example.

In a recent interview, Tom Ludwig, assistant director of the UMWA Department of Occupational

Health, described the problems miners face in combating black lung. A major problem is the fact that the coal companies are supposed to police themselves regarding dust levels in the mines.

The law requires the companies to regularly turn in capsules with dust samples inside, to be tested by federal inspectors. However, explained Ludwig, most companies take their samples under atypical conditions, when the dust is down, such as after a heavy rain or during a breakdown of mine equipment.

Theoretically, the Bureau of Mines should catch such violations on routine inspection tours. "But the company always seems to know when the Bureau of Mines man is coming," Ludwig observed.

Ludwig thinks the union should be doing all the testing for dust levels. "It's the miners' lives," he pointed out. "The coal dust very seldom penetrates the company offices in Pittsburgh, and the executives in New York hardly ever have to wipe dust off their toilet seats."

The collusion between government inspectors and the coal bosses is not only at the local level. The corruption reaches all the way to the top.

Recently the UMWA went on a campaign to expose the head of the U. S. Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration, James Day. A former CIA agent, Day apparently gave up subverting political rights in order to subvert mine safety.

The UMWA discovered that while posing as mine safety enforcer Day was working behind the scenes to tack 23 amendments onto the 1969 mine safety act, amendments that would cripple the law.

This is a familiar story. In 1972, White House aides solicited contributions to Nixon's reelection effort in return for promises of four more years of "properly managed" OSHA.

'Management prerogative'

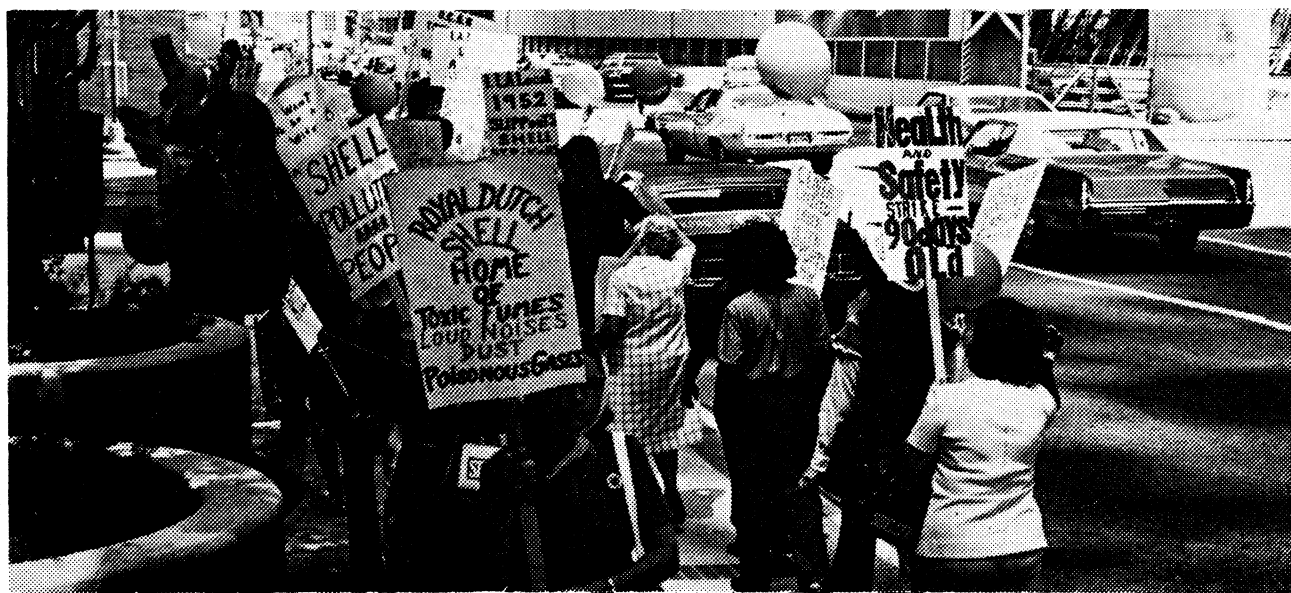
The idea of the union making decisions about work conditions, instead of the company and its paid flunkies in the government, is abhorrent to the capitalists who run this country. It violates their sacrosanct principle of "management prerogative"—the boss's absolute "right" to control work conditions.

The UMWA's demands point in the direction of workers controlling these vital questions. A victory for the miners on these demands will inspire other workers to press for similar protection against deadly speedup rates.

If the miners prove that the mines can be made safer, then surely all other industries can be made safe too.

But as long as the mines and other industries remain in the hands of a few wealthy families, whose only concern is higher profits, no worker is safe. The capitalists have proven themselves incapable of managing *anything* in the interests of working people, not to speak of such hazardous industries as mining.

The mines and the rest of industry should be taken over and run under workers' control. Production would then be geared to the health and safety of the miners and to the needs of the majority of people, instead of to the greed of a tiny few.



Dangerous working conditions were also a major issue in 1973 strike by oil and chemical workers

Miners discuss tentative strike settlement

By CINDY JAQUITH

NOV. 20—The fate of the tentative settlement in the nationwide soft-coal strike was still unknown today, as officials in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) continued their discussions of contract terms.

The proposed settlement was announced Nov. 13, the day after 120,000 UMWA members across the country began their strike. Reporting the news, UMWA President Arnold Miller said, "It's a very good contract; it's one I think we can sell to the membership," according to the Nov. 14 *Wall Street Journal*.

The coal industry's negotiator, Guy Farmer, was quoted by the *New York Times* as saying the contract was "very expensive, costly," with "many absolutely new benefits."

Miller convened the UMWA bargaining council on Nov. 14 to present the proposed contract terms. The council is made up of 37 union officials from around the country.

Once the council approves a tentative settlement, 830 local union delegates will assemble in Pittsburgh to hear the terms and take them back to the membership. The 120,000 soft-coal miners will each receive their own copy of the contract and will vote on it after local discussion meetings.

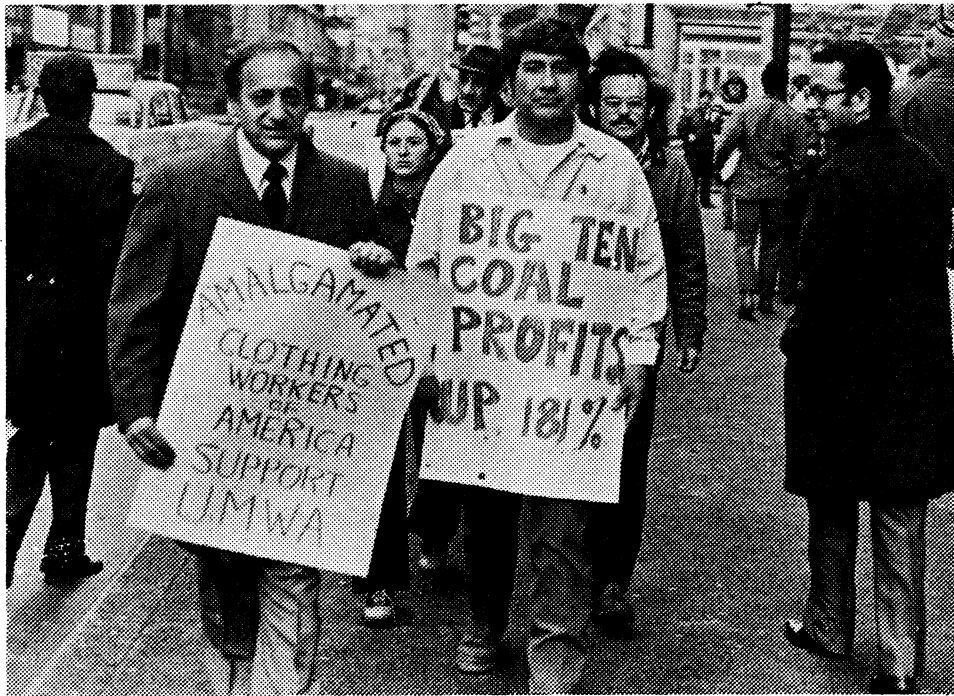
This ratification process would take about 10 days if there were no opposition to the proposed settlement. However, discontent with the contract terms was voiced in the bargaining council on the first day of its sessions.

Then on Nov. 15, one of the council members, District 20 President Sam Littlefield, was killed in a robbery attempt at his hotel. The entire bargaining council adjourned its discussions to attend Littlefield's funeral in Alabama.

As of Nov. 19, when the council reconvened, it still had not approved the tentative settlement.

The complete text of the contract proposal has not been made public. Incomplete and somewhat contradictory reports of the terms have appeared in the capitalist press, however.

The Nov. 14 *Wall Street Journal* reported that under the settlement, "wages will rise 9% in the first year and 3% in each of the last two years



Pittsburgh supporters of miners picket offices of Consolidation Coal on Nov. 12

of the pact." The contract lasts three years.

The cost-of-living clause proposed would pay one cent an hour for every 0.4 rise in the Consumer Price Index, said the *Journal*. There would be a ceiling on this escalator clause, however, reported variously as 6 percent or 8 percent. The company would not have to compensate miners for price rises above this ceiling.

Pensions, according to the *Journal*, would be increased from their present \$150 a month to \$250 a month by the last year of the pact. This would be covered by a 75-cents-a-ton increase in the royalties paid by the coal companies into the union's health and retirement fund.

The miners would get five paid sick days. They have none now.

Safety provisions in the proposed contract would include the miners' right to walk out of an unsafe mine, the *Journal* said. The union would also have guaranteed access to the mines for safety inspections.

Other safety terms are the addition of helpers on dangerous machinery and improved training of new workers.

The contract would not include the right of a local union to strike over grievances, according to the *New York Times*.

After the second day of bargaining council deliberations, *New York Times* reporter Ben Franklin wrote: "Approval of the contract by the bargaining council had been expected to take only one day."

"But there were widespread unofficial reports within the U.M.W. that the bargaining council, composed of elected regional officers sensitive to the wishes of the rank and file, would instruct Mr. Miller . . . to return to bargaining to try to redistribute some gains, perhaps within the agreed-on dollar terms. . . ."

"One source said today that some objections in the bargaining council were coming from pro-Miller union officers, who were giving their leader 'early warning that the contract, as it stood, might not fly when the miners vote on it.'"

Some council members have also protested that they were not "kept informed as the talks progressed," according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The increased length of the strike now and the possibility that the first contract offer may not win rank-and-file approval has raised anew the question of direct government intervention to break the strike.

The Ford administration has been very actively involved in the contract talks all along, but in a behind-the-scenes manner. Now there is growing talk in the capitalist press of a government move to break the strike through the Taft-Hartley Act.

Plans to use the act have been on the back burner at the White House since the strike began, but initially the government and industry hoped a settlement could be quickly reached. As the Nov. 9 *Business Week* explained:

"... it was clear that immediate steps by President Ford to cut off the strike by seeking an injunction under the Taft-Hartley Act could make a bad problem worse. Traditionally, coal miners and their union have been hostile to government intervention, and Taft-Hartley action in the early stages of a strike would be like scratching a match in a gassy coal mine."

Now, however, Ford seems increasingly willing to risk such an explosion, particularly if the government doesn't like the way miners vote on the proposed settlement.

New York Times labor "expert" A. H. Raskin spelled out this threat Nov. 17, when he wrote that the "spirit of benign neglect [!] on the part of Washington officialdom is sure to vanish abruptly if a genuine national emergency is engendered by rank-and-file rejection of the proposed pact, or by extensions of the delays that already have begun to develop along the complex ratification route."

The "complex ratification route" Raskin sneers at simply guarantees that the union members have the right to determine their own contract, a right they will exercise this year for the first time in UMWA history.

The willingness of the government to trample on this right in the interests of the coal operators shows just how little concern the capitalists have with democracy, inside or outside the unions.

Mexican Trotskyist murdered by gov't goons

[The following statement was issued November 17 by the Secretariat of the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico.]

Our comrade Antonio Maldonado Franco and two other students of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Puebla [UAP—Autonomous National University of Puebla] have been murdered in Tlaxcala City by a gang known as "Los Gavilanes" [The Hawks]. One of the students was Guillermo Ramírez; we do not yet know the name of the other compañero who was murdered.

The three were teaching in the Rafael Ramírez normal school in Tlaxcala City, which has been subjected to repeated attacks by the "Gavilanes," who represent a faction in the PRI (Partido

Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party), the government party in Mexico.

The "Gavilanes" serve as a goon squad and have been trying to drive radical activists out of the Rafael Ramírez normal school.

The first victim was Guillermo Ramírez, who was kidnapped at the end of October. Later he was found dead. His funeral was marked by a mass demonstration in the city of Puebla.

The second and third victims were our comrade Antonio and another student at the UAP. They were kidnapped on October 24 during a "demonstration" organized by the government. It was one of the traditional rallies organized by a faction of the PRI to back its candidate for the gubernatorial nomination. The approach of elections for the governorship of Tlaxcala has unleashed a wave of violence in various parts of this state.

When the "demonstration" passed near the Rafael Ramírez normal school, the thugs grabbed Antonio and the other compañero from the UAP. The details remain unclear, since the news only reached us many days later by way of activists from the normal school who brought the report to Puebla.

We did not know what had hap-

pened; our comrade had simply vanished. However, one of those kidnapped on October 24 had to be Antonio, since the description fitted him perfectly (the clothes he was wearing that day, the description of him, etc.).

After being kidnapped, Antonio was taken to the building of the Instituto de Estudios Superiores [IES—Institute of Advanced Studies], which had been seized by the "Gavilanes." We do not know how he was killed. When the police went into the building on November 12, it was reported unofficially that two bodies were found. So far the authorities have tried to cover up this crime. The police have not even allowed the bodies to be identified. Nonetheless, it is obvious to all that Antonio Maldonado and the other compañero were murdered.

Comrade Antonio Maldonado Franco was eighteen years old. He went to work in the Rafael Ramírez normal school as a volunteer instructor when the state authorities withdrew the teaching staff, claiming that there was "no money in the budget" to pay them. The repressive government bears the full responsibility for his murder.

In Puebla the UAP activists have mobilized to demand punishment of those guilty of these three murders.

SWP, YSA pledge solidarity

The following message was sent Nov. 18 to the Liga Socialista (Socialist League), supporters of the Fourth International in Mexico.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance of the United States voice their sorrow over the assassination of Antonio Maldonado Franco and his two compañeros in Tlaxcala.

Your consistent struggle on behalf of the democratic rights and economic welfare of Mexico's workers, students, and peasants has made the Liga Socialista a target of the procapitalist terrorist assassins.

Their attacks are aimed at stopping the increasing activity and growing political influence of Mexican Trotskyism. But such attacks, we are certain, will not succeed in their aim of halting the growth of the Liga Socialista.

We express our solidarity with your struggle to build a revolutionary leadership capable of guiding the workers and peasants to victory in their struggle for the full national and social emancipation of Mexico.

Till socialism is won,
Political Bureau of the SWP
National Executive Committee of the YSA

New wage curbs threatened

Why gov't can't 'whip inflation now' or ever

By DICK ROBERTS

The Democratic Party national committee announced in Washington, D.C., Nov. 16 that it will support mandatory wage and price controls in forthcoming congressional legislation.

The Democratic economic program is being offered as a supposed alternative to the economic policies of the Ford administration.

According to unnamed sources cited by the Nov. 17 *New York Times*, the proposed Democratic Party plan was drafted in consultation with the AFL-CIO.

This is the trade-union bureaucrats' reward for their help in electing the overwhelmingly Democratic incoming Congress.

No solution

The real purpose of the Democratic Party proposals is not to aid workers but to deepen the attack on them while only pretending to combat inflation.

It is now admitted by all that the United States is in a recession—the worst one in postwar history.

As massive unemployment is combined with spiraling prices, government policy-makers believe they must begin making token efforts to combat inflation—more than Ford's fatuous "WIN" buttons and pledges.

But "price controls" do not offer a solution. The federal government can order effective wage controls. All that takes is the cooperation of industry during wage settlements, and the bosses are always willing to cooperate when it comes to holding down wage increases.

To actually control prices, however, would require the cooperation of profit-hungry corporations in limiting prices, which they will never do.

These two propositions were proven to the hilt by the four phases of the Nixon administration's "New Economic Policy," from August 1971 to April 1974.

In that period the official inflation rate rose to more than 10 percent. From 1971 to 1973 profits climbed 48 percent. Wage settlements were down: average first-year wage increases in contracts covering 1,000 or more workers were 11.6 percent in 1971, 7.3 percent in 1972, and 5.8 percent in 1973.

The spendable average weekly earnings of a worker with three dependents, measured in 1967 dollars, was \$92.43 in 1971. It had fallen to \$89.72 by April 1974.



Militant/Jon Flanders



The Democrats are well aware of these figures. In their economic paper they say of wage and price controls that "the Republican Administration's failure to apply them equitably in 1971-73 makes it difficult to recommend them now." Difficult, but not impossible.

The Democrats pretend that it is Nixon's fault prices went up while real wages were frozen. But the Congress, which passed the enabling legislation for Nixon's New Economic Policy, was controlled by the Democrats. They supported every phase of it and every phony panel that was supposed to carry out the controls.

It is another case of the two-party shell game. In fact, whatever policies are agreed upon by the ruling class and its economic experts, they will be carried out with overwhelming bipartisan support in Congress.

The capitalist politicians always join forces in passing antilabor legislation, partially to give the impression that there are no alternatives.

Thus President Ford, despite his frequent protestations to the contrary, is also said to be moving toward the idea of reimposing wage controls.

At a Nov. 11 news conference, Sylvia Porter, head of Ford's "Citizens Action Committee to Fight Inflation," warned that "mandatory wage and price controls will almost inevitably follow" if the proposed national campaign of WIN pledges doesn't work.

The WIN pledges are an exorcism approach to inflation, designed for those who believe in the power of positive thinking. Business owners pledge "that to the very best of my ability I will hold or reduce prices," while consumers pledge to "buy, when possible, only those products and services priced at or below present levels." This will be a big blow to all of us who have been encouraging inflation by rushing out to buy at the highest prices we could find.

Porter warned that "we all know what comes next if [!] this doesn't work." The *New York Times* pointed out that Porter's "comments revived memories of former President Nixon, who, after saying no, no, a thousand times no to controls, then made use of a standby authority given to him by Congress to launch the various phases of his economic stabilization program."

So the Democratic economic policy statement will probably turn out to be not an alternative to Ford's position at all, but rather a trial balloon for what may become the administration's official position.

Crisis deepens

Meanwhile the economy continued its nose dive. Most dramatic was the sharp decline of automobile sales in the first 10 days of November, down

38 percent. At least 69,000 auto workers are already laid off indefinitely with tens of thousands more expected to follow.

Industrial production is slackening throughout the economy. The total output of factories, utilities, and mines dropped 0.6 percent in October, before the big auto cutbacks in November.

Business Week said Nov. 9 that "early in the year, the unemployment was limited mostly to construction, autos, and energy-related industries. Now, with consumers retrenching further, layoffs by the thousands are coming in appliances, TV sets, home furnishings, and such nondurable goods as textiles and clothing. Softening in capital spending is also boosting unemployment in production of machinery and other capital goods.

"During the past year, unemployment among blue-collar workers has risen by 700,000, pushing the jobless rate in this occupational group up to 7.3%, well above the national average. Manufacturing workers, primarily in the automotive group of industries, account for 355,000 of that total. An additional 150,000 have been idled by the severe slump in homebuilding, pushing the unemployment rate among construction workers now to 12.2%."

Inflation worsens

Yet despite nearly a full year of recession, the inflation rate is still worsening. Wholesale food prices rose 4.7 percent in October—an annual rate of 56.4 percent—as wholesale prices for all goods rose 2.3 percent. These price rises will soon be passed on to consumers.

While the auto companies complain that they have been forced to raise prices to meet environmental protection and safety laws, the Labor Department reported that only one-third

of the average \$386-per-car increase in this year's new models was traceable to such improvements as pollution-control devices. Two-thirds was plain price increase.

Ultimately corporate profits will also feel the effect of recession, but as of the third quarter of this year, the inflation was still carrying profits to record highs. *Business Week* reported Nov. 9 that after-tax industrial profits were "likely to come in at an annual rate of \$90-billion, compared with \$73-billion for the same quarter of 1973." This marked a 24 percent increase.

Among the profit increases recorded by *Business Week* were: Exxon, up 38 percent; Gulf, up 43 percent; Mobil, up 58 percent; and Shell, up 83 percent.

The three largest coal companies fared even better: Kennecott Copper (owner of Peabody Coal), up 41 percent; Continental Oil (owner of Consolidation Coal), up 115 percent; Occidental Petroleum (owner of Island Creek Coal), up 360 percent.

Thus the "energy crisis" continues to do for big business what it was supposed to do from the beginning—pour millions of dollars into the coffers of the corporate owners of energy.

Meanwhile the capitalist press and politicians are stepping up their campaign to blame inflation on an "ominous trend" toward higher wage increases.

With the lifting of the previous wage controls last spring and the upswing in strikes since then, the average first-year wage increase in major union contracts has risen to 10 percent in the second quarter of this year and 11.3 percent in the third quarter.

The plain fact is that even these improved wage gains are far below the rate of inflation. Workers' real purchasing power continues to fall.

The progress of the coal miners' strike is being closely watched by workers and employers alike for signs of future wage trends. Whatever the outcome, it is sure to be denounced by the companies and the government as inflationary, and sure to be cited as evidence of the need for wage controls.

This is especially preposterous when one of the prime motors of inflation is the higher energy prices—and the corporations have the profits to prove it.

The unions can best answer this lying capitalist propaganda by exposing the government policies and corporate profiteering that really cause soaring prices, and by demanding full cost-of-living escalator protection for all working people against the effects of inflation.

Sugar: how high will it go?

While millions of starving children are reduced to eating leaves and grass, U.S. agribusiness is rolling in profits.

Those making the biggest killing right now are the sugar corporations. At the rate sugar prices are soaring in this country (300 percent in the past year) we may soon be paying as much for sugar as for meat. It's already topped \$2.50 for a five-pound bag.

Meanwhile, the Great Western Sugar Corporation, the nation's top beet-sugar refiner, reported a 1,200 percent jump in after-tax profits in the three-month period ending Sept. 30.



Up 300 percent in a year

Cleve. newspaper unions stand together

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Victory or defeat for the Newspaper Guild in its battle with publishers of the two metropolitan dailies here depends, in the last analysis, on whether or not the craft unions continue to respect the 24-hour Guild picket line maintained at the *Plain Dealer* since Nov. 1.

This was made clear at strike headquarters Nov. 17 by Jack Weir, executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, in a *Militant* interview.

Asked whether the publishers could put out the *Plain Dealer* without the Guild, as they had threatened to do, Weir said:

"Yes, it's possible that all the crafts—if they go in—with the syndicated news and wire services can publish a paper, although it won't be a quality paper.

"We've been making continuous efforts to keep the crafts out. It's a life-and-death struggle for us."

The main issues in the strike are money and the "take it or leave it" attitude of the publishers, Weir said.

They are not "bargaining." On Oct. 31, at 11:15 p.m. (45 minutes before the strike deadline voted by the Guild unit), the publishers brought out an offer of a 5 percent a year wage increase.

The Guild unit rejected it as unacceptable and the strike was on.

The high morale of the Guild members is reflected in the efficient functioning of a strike headquarters in the basement of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union, a few blocks from the *Plain Dealer* offices.

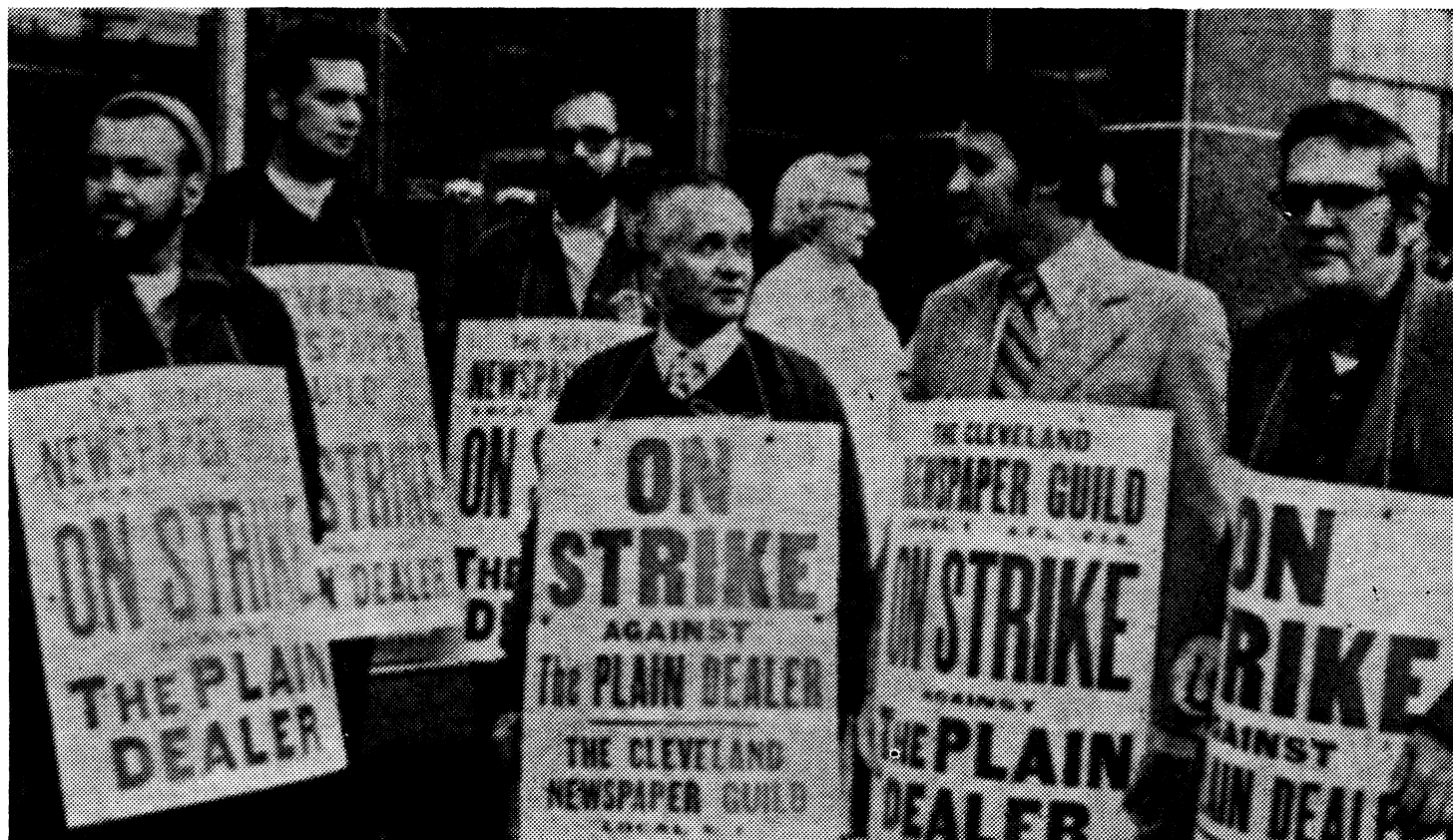
The unity committee of the newspaper unions has been reactivated to coordinate strike activities of the printers, press operators, paper handlers, mailers, stereotypers, building service employees, and photoengravers.

Cleveland newspaper negotiations started this year with the familiar pattern of coordinated bargaining by the two powerful publishers with each of the unions, one at a time, for contracts with different termination dates. This is so the unions cannot strike together.

As in the past, they negotiated first with the Teamsters, who agreed by Labor Day to an average \$57 pay increase over three years.

The usual newspaper management game plan in all cities is to play one union against the other, feed jealousies and suspicions that one union is making deals at the expense of another, and cut the money package into different shapes adapted to different time periods and fringe benefits.

But all the unions end up with substantially the same package—a small-



Guild Reporter/William F. Miller

Newspaper Guild and other craft unions have resisted attempts by Cleveland *Plain Dealer* management to play one union against the other.

er one than they could win if they increased their bargaining strength by coordinating their negotiations as the employers do.

In recent years, however, technological changes in the printing industry—automation, computerization, all the new electronic processes—have made the old processes and skills obsolete. And they have made the craft-union structure an intolerable obstacle to collective bargaining or action of any kind in the interests of the workers in the newspaper industry.

The potential this offers for an anti-union offensive by the employers has been graphically demonstrated in strike actions this year.

At the New York *Daily News* more than two million copies a day were put out with all the union printers on strike. The *Washington Post* published without the Guild reporters, editors, and photographers. And the Akron *Beacon Journal* circumvented the striking Teamsters union drivers by delivering the paper by mail.

A common feature of all of these strikes that failed to stop production was that the craft unions did not even ask the other unions to respect their picket lines.

(This may seem incomprehensible to a generation that grew up to take industrial unions for granted, but it is an outmoded hangover from a form of newspaper production that required

a number of distinct skilled crafts. In earlier times the absence of any one of them could stop production.)

When the *Plain Dealer* unit of the Guild voted to strike if they did not have a contract and settlement of two disciplinary grievances by Oct. 31, the Newhouse management, which has transformed production methods and housebroken craft unions in other papers in its chain, confidently announced it would continue to print without the Guild.

Typographical Union officers were threatened that if they did not cross the picket line in the event of a strike, the rapidly shrinking composing-room work force could be dispensed with.

When the Guild struck, the Typographical Union went through the ritual of trying to send a group of printers in to work to "meet their contractual obligations." A scuffle ensued, and when it was made clear that printers could not safely cross the picket line, they retreated.

None of the crafts went in and production was shut down.

The publishers immediately went to the U. S. District Court to seek a court order to force the crafts to scab on the Guild.

After hearing extensive testimony on company strike-breaking measures and danger of violence to persons crossing a picket line, Judge Ben

Green denied the company's petition.

The *Cleveland Press*, closing ranks with its erstwhile "competitor," whose interests it had been protecting by printing the paper with a double masthead for several days, announced it would deliver a combined *Plain Dealer* and *Press* to subscribers of both papers.

When the Teamsters refused to deliver struck goods and to be used as strikebreakers, the *Press* promptly closed its doors and locked out its employees.

A week later scare stories were being spread that the Teamsters were planning to cross the lines soon. Printers were being warned that everyone else would go back and only they would be victimized.

But the new local officers of the Typographical Union pointed out that they had not been ordered to scab and that their union's strike benefits had been approved. If the Guild breaks the \$57 pattern, the printers will gain, and so will the Teamsters, who did not sign the contract they negotiated, in case of such a contingency.

The most promising development for the continued strength of the Guild strike is a growing awareness among rank-and-file members of the crafts that the only future for unionism in the multi-million-dollar newspaper industry is industrial unionism.

Michigan court jails striking teachers

By PAULA REIMERS

DETROIT—Eleven striking teachers of the Garden City Education Association (GCEA) were jailed Nov. 14 for refusing to return to work under court order.

Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Charles Kaufman sentenced John Melchor, chief negotiator for the union, to 30 days, and 10 other teachers to five days each.

Kaufman refused to delay the sentences or to allow the teachers to go free on bond. The next day, however, the teachers were released on \$1,000 bond each pending appeal.

The 529-member GCEA first struck in September, but returned to work under an injunction issued by Kaufman. In October, after Kaufman ordered a "fact-finding" report on the issues, the teachers voted that if they had no satisfactory contract by Nov. 11 they would resume their strike in defiance of the court.

The teachers subsequently rejected the fact-finder's report as inadequate and on Nov. 11 struck again. They also recalled the local president, Paul Chamberlin, who opposed the strike and tried to lead a return to work.

The main union demands are for a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) and a limit on class size.

Melchor summed up the teachers' sentiments in court when he said he would never go back to work without a contract and would not honor any court order "that will cause the association to be crushed."

"We will serve this time with honor and dignity," he told Kaufman. "Sentence me as you will."

The 50 teachers in the courtroom gasped as Melchor was sentenced to 30 days. Then they gave him a round of applause when he stopped at the courtroom door and raised a clenched fist.

Melchor and the other jailed teachers rejoined the picket line Nov. 18. Picket signs carried slogans such as, "Things go better with COLA," "Remember the Garden City 11," "Justice—bah, humbug," "Teachers, like other workers, need the right to strike," and "Smaller class size helps your children."

The jailing of the strikers underscores the necessity of fighting to abolish the Michigan law that prohibits all public employees from striking.

It is under this law that Kaufman and other judges have issued injunctions to break many of the teachers' strikes that have swept Michigan in the past two years.

The defiance of the Garden City teachers is making their strike a test case for all Michigan public employees.

A hastily called support rally on Nov. 15 at United Auto Workers Lo-

cal 900's hall attracted 500 people. Keith Geiger, president of the Michigan Education Association, got a standing ovation as he pledged the MEA's full support to the Garden City teachers.

The president of Local 900 declared, "We're all workers here and we're all in this together. We're with you 7,000 strong." He gave the GCEA a check for \$1,000.

Support has also come from other teacher locals, including affiliates of both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers; from the Teamsters union; and from the Wayne County chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

"This is teaching us where our real friends are," one striking teacher said, "and they're in the union movement. We need a closer identification with the union movement."

'World must defend Valentyn Moroz'

Sakharov calls for support to Soviet dissident

In the following interview, Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov discusses the grave health of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz. Moroz is serving a 14-year sentence in Vladimir prison outside Moscow for protesting the Soviet bureaucracy's repression in the Ukraine. He has been on a hunger strike since July 1.

Sakharov was interviewed by the Canadian Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz. The interview was conducted by phone on Nov. 6. The translation is by the committee.

Committee: Andrei Dimitrovych, we're calling from Canada. We spoke to you yesterday. . . .

Sakharov: Yes, I can give you the information now: Raissa Moroz (Moroz's wife) arrived in Moscow last night. She had a meeting with Valentyn Moroz which lasted one hour and 15 minutes. At first Moroz was permitted to see his father, then his wife with their 12-year-old son.

Moroz looked extremely weak—he has lost more than 20 kilograms (approximately 40 pounds) and now weighs 52 kilograms (approximately 104 pounds). After force-feedings he urinates blood.

He is experiencing great pain in the area of his gastro-intestinal tract and stomach. They are planning to stop force-feeding him through his mouth and to begin intravenous feeding; this would probably aggravate his condition. He is having heart seizures; he requires medication for his heart.

The hunger strike is taking its toll; his face was jaundiced, his eyes were deeply sunk. He looked very bad and his wife was unable to talk when she first saw him—she choked at the horrible sight.

The guards screamed at her to speak louder. When she gained control of herself, she began to speak up, but it was obvious that this was difficult



Picket line in New York last spring protesting treatment of Soviet dissidents.

for her.

Moroz told her that he expects to be able to continue the hunger strike for two months or until the end of the year. He expects to be able to last that long, but not any longer. He stated that he is finishing himself off; he used the words "self-immolation" or "slow death," whichever comes first.

He was hoping for the better and yet he was bidding farewell to his family—he is putting his trust in God but bidding farewell to his family.

He kissed the hand of his son. At that moment the guards jumped the 12-year-old child, thinking that Moroz passed something on to him with his mouth. After a scuffle, the meeting was terminated. Such a horrible scene. . . .

The meeting was held under highly unusual circumstances; it was not held in the usual place for such visits, but in a room next to the warden's office. There was soft, upholstered furniture and a television set—highly unusual for prison conditions.

Throughout the meeting, some man was taking photographs. They said that this man was a reporter for AP (Associated Press). We suspect that this will be used as some kind of deception in the West—what a good environment Moroz has and how he is able to meet with his wife beside a television set and all that. . . . But the last scene—when they were pulling the boy away—was not photographed. The reporter had turned away.

Moroz stated that if there was any hope for a compromise he would cease his hunger strike. As it stands, he has been ordered to discontinue his hunger strike unconditionally. He is now in such a state that he cannot possibly be transferred to a labour camp. It is essential that he be set free and taken to a normal hospital. Otherwise he will die. . . .

Committee: Is he now in the prison hospital?

Sakharov: He is not even in the prison hospital. He is confined to the cell in which he is conducting the hunger strike, isolated from everybody, where he is daily force-fed through a tube. But this method cannot be continued much longer because they have scratched his esophagus and possibly his stomach.

Committee: In a week we will have a meeting with External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachen and will request at that time that the Prime Minister again intervene on behalf of Moroz.

Sakharov: This is absolutely necessary because only the most determined pressure on Soviet authorities will change this situation. Moroz is now on the verge of death, he simply cannot continue any longer and may finish himself off within two months. In other words, his determination is also declining.

His wife went to the Moscow KGB. They told her that they will not promise him anything nor help him. They said that the fact that he continues his hunger strike is his private affair. Most importantly, she was threatened by the KGB, and now she has to be defended.

They threatened her and accused her with the responsibility for passing materials to anti-Soviet television—to our enemies abroad, giving material to the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). She replied that that material was regarding the hunger strike of her husband.

She now also needs help. One month ago she was threatened by the KGB in Ivano-Frankivsk and this threat was supported by a huge stone thrown through her window, which hit and wounded her in the head. Now she is threatened by a court action.

Committee: Would you like to make a statement for the press? We may have a press conference today.

Sakharov: I want you to tell the press what I just told you. I think that every honest man must be shaken by this cruel treatment of an honest man—Valentyn Moroz. And unless world opinion comes to his defense, he will perish. If he dies, it will be on the conscience of all people and this would be unpardonable.

Committee: Thank you very much. We will pass this on to the press. As we told you we are having a demonstration tonight in front of the Soviet Embassy where they will be holding a reception for diplomats, to commemorate the October Revolution. We will call you again in two weeks, if you permit.

Sakharov: Very well.

Committee: Thank you and good-bye.

Sakharov: Thank you. Good-bye.

Teamster strikers defy UPS threat to shut down

By FRED RICHARDS

NEW YORK—Defying a United Parcel Service (UPS) threat to close down its New York area operations, 3,000 striking members of Teamsters Local 804 voted overwhelmingly at a Nov. 17 meeting to reject UPS's "final offer."

The workers were militant and angry. Some tore up copies of the proposed contract and threw them into the air. Others stood on chairs and cursed the company.

The rejection must still be confirmed by a secret ballot scheduled for Nov. 20, the same deadline set by UPS in its strikebreaking ultimatum. Meanwhile, negotiations continue in Washington with the participation of W.J. Usery, the slick head of the federal mediation service.

The strike by 4,500 Teamster members began Aug. 28 and has had an increasing impact, especially with the approach of the Christmas mailing season.

The key issue is UPS's demand to replace full-time workers with low-paid part-timers. Before the Nov. 17 meeting, driver Louis Bernard told reporters, "We can't give in. Right now they are talking about part-time for inside workers only. Next it will be drivers."

Another worker said, "If we don't stick to our guns and we accept this part-time offer, we'll be out of work

three or six years from now anyway. That's what the company plans anyway, so we may as well face the shut-down now."

The strike has come under growing attack from local industry, the capitalist media, the U.S. Postal Service, and the government. On Nov. 15 the Postal Service placed full-page ads in the New York newspapers that in effect backed UPS against the strikers.

Postal workers, on the other hand, are in solidarity with the UPS strikers. A delegation from the Metro Area Postal Union joined with Local 804 strikers and representatives of other Teamster locals—2,000 strong in all—for a Nov. 14 demonstration outside the main UPS depot in Manhattan.

At the demonstration Local 804 President Ron Carey announced to loud cheers that UPS workers in Los Angeles had gone out on strike.

Carey stated that the union was going to continue to fight for job security for all its members. He attacked the national Teamster union officialdom for not giving support to the strike.

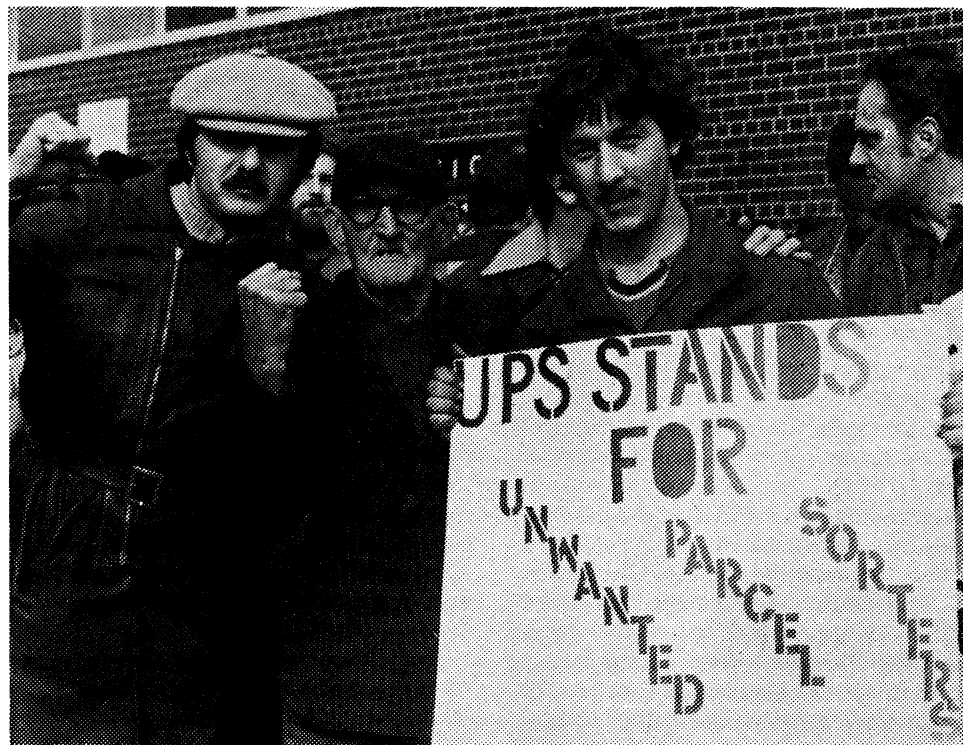
Strikers at the demonstration carried signs reading, "Fitzsimmons, now is the time to help us," and "Thanks, Fitz, you made us everything we are—unemployed," referring to Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons.

The New York strike has national significance as the only challenge to UPS's drive to replace full-time workers with part-timers. In the rest of the country Fitzsimmons has cooperated with UPS to impose settlements that capitulate to UPS's drive for profits.

A victory for the New York strikers would also be a victory for all 65,000

UPS workers in 200 Teamster locals across the country.

NOV. 20—A tentative settlement of the UPS strike was announced today by negotiators in Washington, D.C. Details will appear in next week's *Militant*.



UPS STRIKERS: 'We can't give in.'

Militant/Blanca Fernandez

Arafat spells out program for peace as war threat in Middle East grows

By DAVE FRANKEL

On Nov. 13 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat got up before the United Nations and asked the world to support the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland. By simply posing the issue clearly before a world forum—that Israel is a settler-colony, established and maintained through the dispossession of the Palestinian people—Arafat was able to win a powerful victory for the Palestinian cause.

The *New York Times* report on the UN debate captured the essence of the matter in its opening sentences. Arafat, it wrote, said that "his organization's goal remained a Palestinian state that would include Moslems, Christians and Jews."

"Israel's delegate, Yosef Tekoah, said in rebuttal that this would mean the destruction of Israel and the substitution of an Arab state."

The Palestinian demand for a state in which both peoples could live together is so reasonable that Zionist publicists have generally insisted that it is not meant seriously, that it is only presented as a propaganda ploy for consumption in the West. Arafat's speech gave the lie to this argument. It was an authentic statement of the goals that the Palestinian people have been fighting for, and it was broadcast throughout the Arab world.

The international isolation of the Israeli settler-colony took on a visible form as the Israeli delegate talked to an almost empty hall, in comparison with the packed crowd and the enthusiastic ovations that greeted Arafat. To the dismay of Washington, Arafat pointedly referred to the suspension of South Africa from participation in the proceedings of the General Assembly, and noted that a similar fate might await Israel.

'Deeply disturbing'

U.S. envoy John Scali called the reception of Arafat at the UN and the South African suspension a "deeply disturbing trend."

While not the hindmost in vitriolic attacks on so-called Arab oil blackmail, the *Washington Post* proposed a little blackmail scheme of its own to deal with the situation. "For in-



Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered mobilization of 75,000 reserves as part of campaign to conjure up Syrian threat to Israel.



Israeli convoy during October 1973 war. Zionist leaders hope for big new victory, but their program can only lead to endless war.

stance," wrote the *Post* editors Nov. 16, "many of those who cheered on Mr. Arafat are in Rome at the World Food Conference now asking for large and continuing American aid in food and fertilizer."

While the threat of withholding food and other forms of economic aid may enable Washington to influence the type of resolution approved by the General Assembly at the end of its Mideast debate, it will not help to stem the growing international sympathy and support for the Palestinian people. The delegates who applauded at the UN reflected the much deeper feelings of millions of people.

The support for Palestinian self-determination generated by Arafat's UN appearance and the upsurge it has inspired among Palestinians living under Israeli occupation highlight the difficulties facing those trying to work out a Mideast settlement aimed at legitimizing the expulsion of the Palestinians and denying them their full rights.

Various imperialist governments, most of the Arab regimes, and the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking have united behind the idea of a settlement in which Israel would obtain formal diplomatic recognition in return for some occupied Arab territory. They need Arafat and the PLO to lend their prestige to such a settlement if it is to be accepted by the Arab masses. But this plan will prove difficult to consummate.

The issue of Palestine and the rights of the Palestinians has always been the rock that attempts at a Mideast settlement have foundered on.

Arafat's appearance at the UN gained more widespread acceptance of the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle and stressed the centrality of that struggle to the problems in the Mideast. It has thereby encouraged the Palestinian people and the Arab masses as a whole. This will make it more difficult to work out any settlement at the expense of the Palestinians.

Isolated internationally, smarting from the warm reception given Arafat at the UN, facing the worst economic crisis in its history, and

wracked by protests (see story, page 10), Israel reacted Nov. 14 and 15 the same way it always has. It lashed out at the surrounding Arab population and threatened war.

On Nov. 14 long-range Israeli guns shelled the town of Nabatiye in southern Lebanon, along with the villages around it. Six people, including a six-year-old girl, were killed, and 20 were wounded.

The next day the Zionist state mobilized 75,000 reservists. Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres claimed that the step was a response to Syrian troop movements, while Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin contended in a speech Nov. 16 that "at this very moment 20 Soviet ships are off-loading arms in the Syrian port of Latakia."

But the real reasons behind the Israeli mobilization had nothing to do with any threat from Syria. Jim Hoagland reported from Damascus in the Nov. 17 *Washington Post*, "Diplomatic sources said today that there was no sign here of Syrian troop movements or mobilization on the Golan Heights despite Israel's partial callup of its reserves."

Hoagland's sources noted that "large numbers of Soviet ships have been unloading cargo at the congested Latakia harbor for several months and that there have been as many as 20 Soviet ships in the harbor on previous occasions without issuance of public warnings by Israel."

Reporting from Washington the same day, *New York Times* reporter John Finney wrote, "Administration officials here said that 'only a few' of the ships have been verified to be unloading arms. They said they had no evidence of a sudden increase in the steady flow of Soviet arms to Syria that followed last year's war. . . ."

"The general conclusion of Administration officials, therefore, was that the mobilization had been prompted not so much by Syrian military moves as by a confluence of political developments. . . ."

Why Israel mobilized

The Israeli mobilization had the immediate effect of focusing world attention away from the appearance of

the Palestinian delegation at the UN. It also served as a means of undercutting protests by Israeli workers against their falling standard of living. The call for unity in the face of the Arab enemy was raised.

But more important than these considerations is the increasingly obvious fact that Israel plans to open up a new preemptive war. Just as in 1967, it is busily manufacturing a "Syrian threat" as a means of justifying the coming attack.

As *Newsweek* explains in its Nov. 25 issue, "There is a strong feeling within the Israeli military establishment that their failure to win a decisive victory in the October war was the result of Jerusalem's decision to absorb the first blow. To avoid falling into that trap again, these officers argue, Israel has two options: launch a preemptive strike or try to provoke one of its Arab antagonists into an attack, to which a mobilized Israel would strike back with full force."

The massive Israeli mobilization, in response to a nonexistent threat from Syria, was a taste of things to come. Bernard Nossiter reported from Jerusalem in the Nov. 18 *Washington Post*:

"Despite the easing of tensions, it is made plain here that Israel's reinforced guard on the [Golan] Heights cannot be reduced until the alleged Syrian measures that provoked it are reversed."

In a similar vein was the report by Terence Smith in the Nov. 18 *New York Times*. "'They could have us mobilizing twice a month at a cost of tens of millions of pounds per mobilization,' an Israeli official observed privately. 'That would amount to an economic war of attrition.' Behind these words was the unstated threat: a war of attrition might provoke retaliation."

Endless war

The Israeli policy of provocation is based on a simple premise: the belief that the Arab masses can be beaten into submission and forced to accept a situation that they know to be unjust.

"In the Israeli view," writes Francis Ofner in the Nov. 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, "only an all-out victory could break the enemy's desire for still another war and thus pave the road to peace."

This is a program for endless war. It is the essence of what the Zionist state represents for both Jews and Arabs in the Mideast. For even if the fondest hopes of the Israeli generals were realized, and they attained a military victory on the scale of the June 1967 war—an outcome which is hardly predetermined—what would happen then?

They choose to forget that after June 1967 came October 1973. And also after 1967 came the radicalization of the Palestinian masses. The Palestinian national liberation struggle threatened not only the Israeli state, but the proimperialist Arab regimes as well.

Having been imposed on the Arab peoples with imperialist support and by force of arms, the Israeli state must, by its very nature, oppose any attempts by the Arab masses to over-

Continued on page 26

For a democratic, secular Palestine

The following is excerpted from the speech presented by Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to the United Nations General Assembly Nov. 13. The excerpts are based on an unofficial United Nations translation of Arafat's speech, as published in the Nov. 14 New York Times.

Mr. President, the roots of the Palestinian question reach back into the closing years of the 19th century, to that period we call the era of colonialism as we know it today. This is precisely the period during which Zionism as a scheme was born; its aim was the conquest of Palestinian land by European immigrants, just as settlers colonized and indeed raided most of Africa.

This is the period during which, pouring forth out of the West, colonialism spread into the furthest reaches of Africa, Asia and Latin America, building colonies, everywhere cruelly exploiting, oppressing, plundering the peoples of these three continents. This period persists into the present. Marked evidence of its totally reprehensible presence can be readily perceived in the racism practiced both in South Africa and in Palestine. . . .

And just as colonialism heedlessly used the wretched, the poor, the exploited as mere inert matter with which to build and to carry out settler colonialism, so too were destitute, oppressed



Arab family in Palestine in 1946. Within two years most Palestinian Arabs had been turned into refugees.

European Jews employed on behalf of world imperialism and of the Zionist leadership. European Jews were transformed into the instruments of aggression. . . .

Alliance with imperialism

Thus we can understand the connection between Cecil Rhodes, who promoted settler colonialism in South-east Africa, and Theodor Herzl, who had settler colonialist designs upon Palestine.

Having received a certificate of good settler colonialist conduct from Rhodes, Herzl then turned around and presented his certificate to the British Government, hoping thus to secure a formal resolution supporting Zionist policy. In exchange, the Zionists promised Britain an imperialist base on Palestinian soil so that imperial interests could be safeguarded at one of their chief strategic points.

And so the Zionist movement allied itself directly with world colonialism in a common raid on our land. Allow me now to present a selection of historical truths about this alliance:

● The Jewish invasion of Palestine began in 1881. Before the first large

wave of immigrants started arriving, Palestine had a population of half a million; most of the population was either Moslem or Christian, and only 20,000 were Jewish. Every segment of the population enjoyed the religious tolerance characteristic of our civilization.

● Palestine was then a verdant area, inhabited mainly by an Arab people in the course of building its life and dynamically enriching its indigenous culture.

Between 1882 and 1917 the Zionist movement settled approximately 50,000 European Jews in our homeland. . . . Its success in getting Britain to issue the Balfour Declaration once again demonstrated the alliance between Zionism and imperialism. Furthermore, by promising to the Zionist movement what was not hers to give, Britain showed how oppressive was the rule of imperialism. . . .

By 1947 the number of Jews had reached 600,000; they owned about 6 per cent of Palestinian arable land. The figures should be compared with the [Arab] population of Palestine, which at that time was 1.25 million.

Partition of Palestine

As a result of the collusion between the mandatory power and the Zionist movement, and with the support of some countries, this General Assembly, early in its history, approved a recommendation to partition our Palestinian homeland. . . . The General Assembly partitioned that which it had no right to divide—an indivisible homeland. . . .

Furthermore, even though the partition resolution granted the colonialist settlers 54 per cent of the land of Palestine, their dissatisfaction with the decision prompted them to wage a war of terror against the civilian Arab population. They occupied 81 per cent of the total area of Palestine, uprooting a million Arabs.

Thus, they occupied 524 Arab towns and villages of which they destroyed 385, completely obliterating them in the process. Having achieved that end, they built their own settlements and colonies on the ruins of our farms and our groves. . . .

Not satisfied with all this, the racist entity, founded on the imperialist-colonialist concept, turned itself into a base for imperialism and into an arsenal of weapons. This enabled it to assume its role of subjugating the Arab people and of committing aggression against them, in order to satisfy its ambitions for further expansion on Palestinian and other Arab lands. . . .

As a result of Zionist aggression in June, 1967, the enemy occupied Egyptian Sinai as far as the Suez Canal. The enemy occupied Syria's Golan Heights, in addition to all Palestinian land west of the Jordan. All these developments have led to the creation in our area of what has come to be known as the Middle East problem. . . .

Character of Israel

Our people cannot but maintain the heritage of our ancestors in resisting the invaders. . . .

By contrast, we need only mention briefly some Israeli stands: its support of the Secret Army Organization in Algeria, its bolstering of the settler-colonialists in Africa—whether in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Azania, or South Africa—and its backing of South Vietnam against the Vietnamese revolution. . . .



ARAFAT: 'Those who wage war to occupy, colonize and oppress other people—those are the terrorists.'

All these facts offer further proof of the character of the enemy which has usurped our land. They justify the honorable struggle which we are waging against it. . . .

Mr. President, if the immigration of Jews to Palestine had had as its objective the goal of enabling them to live side by side with us, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, we would have opened our doors to them as far as our homeland's capacity for absorption permitted. Such was the case with the thousands of Armenians and Circassians who still live among us in equality as brethren and citizens.

But that the goal of this immigration should be to usurp our homeland, disperse our people and turn us into second-class citizens—this is what no one can conceivably demand that we acquiesce in or submit to.

Therefore, since its inception, our revolution was not motivated by racial or religious factors. Its target was never the Jew as a person but racist Zionism and undisguised aggression. In this sense ours is also a revolution

for the Jew as human being as well. We are struggling so that Jews, Christians and Moslems may live in equality, enjoying the same rights and assuming the same duties, free from racial or religious discrimination. . . .

We urge the people and governments of the world to stand firm against Zionist attempts at encouraging world Jewry to emigrate from their countries and to usurp our land. We urge them as well firmly to oppose any discrimination against any human being, as to religion, race or color. . . .

The real terrorists

Mr. President, those who call us terrorists wish to prevent world public opinion from discovering the truth about us and from seeing the justice on our faces. They seek to hide the terrorism and tyranny of their acts and our own posture of self-defense.

. . . those who wage war to occupy, colonize and oppress other people—those are the terrorists. Those are the people whose actions should be condemned, who should be called war criminals, for the justice of the cause determines the right to struggle. . . .

For many years now our people has been exposed to the ravages of war, destruction, and dispersion. It has paid in the blood of its sons that which cannot ever be compensated. . . . And yet all this has made our people neither vindictive nor vengeful. Nor has it caused us to resort to the racism of our enemies. And nor have we lost the true method by which friend and foe are distinguished.

For we deplore all those crimes committed against the Jews; we also deplore all the real discrimination suffered by them because of their faith. . . .

In my formal capacity as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and as leader of the Palestinian revolution, I proclaim before you that when we speak of our common hopes for the Palestine of tomorrow we include in our perspective all Jews now living in Palestine who choose to live with us there in peace and without discrimination.

. . . I call upon Jews one by one to turn away from the illusory promises made to them by Zionist ideology and Israeli leadership. Those offer Jews perpetual bloodshed, endless war and continuous thralldom. . . .

We offer them the most generous solution that we might live together in a framework of just peace in our democratic Palestine.



Israeli military parade. Zionist settler colony is imperialist spearhead in Mideast.

Israeli occupiers attack Arab protests

By TONY THOMAS

NOV. 20—As Yasir Arafat addressed the United Nations on the issue of Palestine Nov. 13, mass protests broke out for the first time since 1969 on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River. The demonstrations, led by schoolchildren, were in support of the demands of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). They began in Nablus and spread rapidly to the rest of the West Bank. As of this writing they are still continuing.

"Israeli paratroopers and policemen wielding clubs charged the jeering, whistling crowds of children and scattered them into narrow side streets," reported Terence Smith in the Nov. 14 *New York Times*.

Truckloads of troops, he continued, went through the Arab districts "breaking up even the smallest gatherings. . . . Whenever they found more than a few people standing together, the paratroopers screeched to a stop, leaped from the truck and charged toward the group with their batons swinging over their heads on raw-hide thongs."

The Nablus demonstration included

a strike by shopkeepers as well as the student demonstrations. Other actions took place in Halbul, Jenin, Ramallah, Al Birah, and Hebron on Nov. 16 and 17. They included a general strike in Hebron in which barricades were thrown up in the Palestinian sections of the town, and a coordinated demonstration of high school students in several towns on Nov. 16.

A measure of the brutality of the Israeli repression was the murder of a teen-age Palestinian woman in Jenin on Nov. 16. Thousands from the town attended her funeral the same day, which turned into a demonstration against the Israeli occupation and was attacked by the Israeli "security forces."

On Nov. 18 demonstrations broke out in East Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Al Biram in which more than 150 were arrested. Most were reported to be schoolchildren. They shouted slogans such as, "Viva Arafat" and "Palestine is Arab." Helmeted police attacked them with clubs and a water cannon.

At a vocational school near Jerusalem, more than 100 police and sol-

diers attacked after students demonstrated in the school yard waving the Palestinian flag and chanting slogans. The headmaster of the school reported, "Even the assistant headmaster, who was trying to calm the students, was caught and beaten over the head. We sent him to the hospital with a concussion."

The Israeli government threatened to shut down all schools and institute complete military rule over the area (pre-occupation Arab officials retain some control over local government) if the demonstrations did not end.

Karim Khalaf, mayor of the West Bank city of Ramallah, told *Times* reporter Terence Smith, "These demonstrations convey a very simple message. The people are fed up with the occupation. They want their own state and the right to live under rulers of their own choosing. Is that too much to ask?"

The upsurge on the West Bank has clearly been inspired by the worldwide publicity for the Palestinian cause that has been generated by PLO leader Yasir Arafat's UN appearance. Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories represent one-third of the total population. The continuing political ferment among them represents a powder keg beneath the Israeli state.

One Palestinian teacher participating in the Al Birah demonstration explained to Smith, "Ordinary people on the West Bank now feel they have a chance—for the first time in seven years—to do something that will actually affect their own situation. They want to make their voice heard."

The Palestinian protests came in the midst of an unprecedented wave of protests by Israeli workers against inflation and government austerity policies. On Nov. 11 the Israeli government banned imports of items ranging from automobiles to beer, jacked up prices on food and other already-inflated necessities, and devalued the Israeli pound. The *Jerusalem Post* reported that these measures will drive prices up 34 percent, on top of infla-

tion that has already been running at 40 percent this year.

The response to these measures was rioting and strikes in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ashdod, and other cities. Yet in announcing the austerity measures Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin pointed out that these were only the first steps to be taken in order to finance Israel's continuing arms purchases and to prepare it for another war with the Arabs.

As Israel's war measures necessitate increasing sacrifices by the working class there, the Jewish workers are going to find out something about "their" state that they didn't know before. They are going to find that the same talk about the "security of the state" that is used to justify the repression of the Palestinians is going to be used to justify repression against them.

The establishment of a Jewish state through the expulsion of an Arab majority meant that Israel would be permanently at war with its neighbors. But implicit in this situation of never-ending warfare is the necessity for growing attacks, first on the standard of living of the Israeli workers in order to finance the wars, and then on the democratic rights of those who protest.

Right now there is a deep gulf between the Palestinian people and the Israeli oppressors. The horrifying spectacle at Beit Shean Nov. 19, in which the bodies of three Palestinian guerrillas—and of an Israeli Jew mistaken for a Palestinian—were mutilated and burned by a hysterical mob, illuminated just how deep that gulf is. But the fact is that it is precisely the Palestinian struggle for a unitary state in which both Jews and Arabs could live together that provides the only escape for the Israeli Jews from war, inflation, and authoritarian rule.

Far from a utopian dream, the road to a unified socialist Palestine is the only realistic alternative to incessant war and to the ultimate threat of nuclear destruction.



Israeli troops patrolling occupied West Bank before new protests erupted

The U.S. ruling class: anti-Semites for Israel

By DAVE FRANKEL

On Oct. 10 the top-ranking military man in the United States made some of his views known to an audience at Duke University, although more than a month passed before his remarks were picked up by the news media.

General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, explained to his listeners that "Jewish influence" is too strong in the U.S. "They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is. . . ."

According to Richard Levine in the Nov. 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "Gen. Brown acknowledged that these comments make it 'awfully easy to conclude, for anyone who wants to, that the Chairman is anti-Semitic. That's just not true.'"

Of course not. As the general explained, his remarks were "unfortunate and ill-considered," and he would never have blurted out what he really thinks if one of his staff members had been around to jog his elbow.

And, of course, Laurance Rockefeller was only making a business investment when he put up \$60,000 for

an anti-Semitic book aimed at Arthur Goldberg. The fact that Goldberg was running for governor of New York against Nelson Rockefeller had nothing to do with it. The Rockefellers always pass their business investments through five intermediaries in order to launder the money!

As for Richard Nixon, when he mentioned "Jewboys" in the Watergate tapes, it was just his way of speaking. And when Nixon told his campaign strategists, "The Arts you know—they're Jews, they're left wing—in other words, stay away. . . ." it was only another "unfortunate and ill-considered" remark.

Speaking of the "unfortunate and ill-considered," there was also the crude attack by Attorney General William Saxbe last April on "Jewish intellectuals" who were "enamored with the Communist Party."

The simple fact is that in the past six months the president of the United States, the vice-president designate, the attorney general of the U.S., and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have revealed their true anti-Semitic views. And they are only the tip of the garbage pile.

The U.S. government and the parties that administer it are run by gutter bigots, by people who hate Blacks, Jews, Arabs, Latinos, and Asians. And this is the government that the Zionists tell the Jewish people is their ally.

Zionism puts Jews into a position of depending on and supporting the imperialist policies of the worst anti-Semites, while the Palestinians whose goal is to live together with the Israeli Jews in their own homeland are portrayed as new Hitlers.

But as the economic and social crisis beginning to wrack the capitalist world grows, the imperialist allies of Israel will not hesitate to summon anti-Jewish racism to their aid, any more than they have hesitated at the use of anti-Black and anti-Arab racism. The identity of the real Hitlers will become readily apparent.

In the meantime, instead of rallying Jews to fight the social system that gave rise to the Nazi holocaust and will reproduce it here if given the chance, the Zionist leaders line up the Jews in Israel and the U.S. as the spearhead for the imperialist war plans. They think, just as the Ger-



BROWN: Chairman of Joint Chiefs declares anti-Semitic statements 'inoperative.'

man Jews who were the best German patriots in World War I, that if they make themselves useful enough to the imperialists, nothing will happen to them. This is a variation of the famous theme of "It can't happen here."

Israeli 'democracy' in action: an interview

Israel Shahak, a chemistry professor at Jerusalem's Hebrew University and a survivor of the Nazi concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen, is the chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. The following interview with him, conducted in July by two Israeli students, has been abridged from an English translation published in *SWASIA*, a weekly newsletter on the Middle East and North Africa.

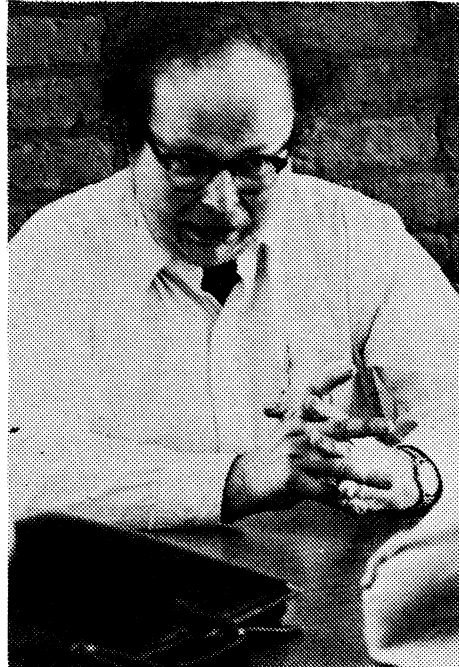
Question: Professor Shahak, what has the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights been doing lately?

Shahak: I, as Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, coordinate an important part of the activities, which emanate from the complaints of detainees of the West Bank. Israeli lawyers do the most work; they try and sometimes succeed in interviewing the detainees.

The situation is as follows: In the latest wave of arrests about 400 persons to date have been arrested. Each person arrested is automatically charged with the usual things, such as participating in the creation of or acting within the context of a hostile organization, causing incitement, or engaging in other political activities.

The Israeli method in the occupied territories in regard to security charges is based upon the defendant's confession of guilt as follows: "I admit of my own free will to all the accusations of the prosecutor." The trials are rarely based upon any other circumstantial evidence.

Torture is frequently used to extort from the defendant the "confession," which in most cases is the only condition for conviction. The cases are many, especially in the last few years, wherein the defendants categorically deny in court their previously made "confessions" and recount in detail



SHAHAK: Torture is frequently used to extort the 'confession.'

the ways used to extort that admission of guilt. Military courts, however, almost always accept the confession as sufficient legal proof in spite of the later denials; judges at times even laugh at the defendants.

Sometimes a defendant, in spite of being tortured, does not admit that with which he or she is charged. In such a case another foolproof method is used: an administrative detention order is issued against that defendant under the 1945 (Emergency) Defense Regulations. Thus, the defendant may legally be kept under detention for an unlimited time period without trial. No need, therefore, exists to indict this person.

The authorities prefer the first method, because difficulty exists in attempting to argue against a signed piece of paper, which testifies at least to a success and achievement by the

authorities that the person broke down.

Question: Can you give any evidence, i.e., specific basis, for your claims?

Shahak: The best way to do this is to present briefly some concrete cases: Muhammed el-Haq, for example, was an engineer at the Nablus Municipality and deputy director of the Nablus Planning Division. He was put under administrative detention; an attempt was made to extort a confession from him by, among other things, burning him with cigarettes. His lawyer, Ali Rafi from Haifa, saw the burns on Muhammed's hands and thereafter presented the proper complaints.

Ali Rafi also attended a press conference organized by the Tel Aviv branch of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and told what he had seen. The reporting was unanimous: not a single word about this appeared in a single newspaper.

Suleiman el-Najab presents another case example. In an interview with his lawyer, Felicia Langer, he tried to lift his trousers to show her the wounds above his knees, acquired as a result of being forced to crawl on gravel stones. The security man who is always present during the defendant's visit with his lawyer did not allow the defendant to show the wounds. Only after three weeks had transpired and new skin had grown over the wounds could the defendant show the place.

According to Suleiman, he was held for a lengthy period of time in a dungeon whose dimensions were 1.6 x 0.5 x 0.5 meters. The dungeon was at a certain military camp (apparently Sarafand) whose walls and floors were covered with a mixture of cement and gravel. He also complained of being beaten on the genitals while he was naked and of having his hands

tied to the iron bars of the cell window during the last days of his stay.

These and similar complaints are frequent; they can be heard from many detainees. I am convinced of their veracity.

Question: Do the authorities explain these detentions? If so, how?

Shahak: When you ask concrete questions you generally encounter a total lack of response. Pi Haaton, the Jerusalem students' weekly, tried to get the authorities to clarify the specific case of Suleiman el-Najab. The weekly received an evasive answer: "The case is sensitive and political."

Other questions about tortures were left unanswered. Minister Peres claimed in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) that these people had organized with violent goals in mind. This claim did not even appear in the charge sheets. The Knesset, however, accepted this without doubt or further questioning, and the whole item was struck from the agenda. The press continues to ignore the affair and the complaints. Yet the press goes to the trouble of publishing "hints" about "organization for violence"—a groundless accusation in my opinion.

Question: What answers do you give to questions that you are surely asked about the sufferings of the Arab Jews?

Shahak: The Jews in Syria and Iraq are certainly being persecuted and certainly do suffer. Those in Lebanon, Tunisia, and Morocco are in a much better situation than are Israeli Arabs, not to speak of the Arabs in the occupied territories. The use of the term "Arab Jews" is, therefore, nothing but a demagogic one, which is not intended to help those Jews that are really persecuted but rather to justify the persecution of Arabs here.

Demonstrations welcome Palestinian delegates

By ARTHUR HUGHES

NEW YORK—One thousand people participated here in a midday demonstration Nov. 13 for the liberation of Palestine. The action coincided with the opening of the UN debate on Palestine and the appearance of Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The overwhelming majority of the demonstrators were Arab-Americans and Arab students, many wearing kaffiyeh headdresses. They had come from across the United States and from Canada to welcome the Palestinian participants in the UN debate.

Placards indicating the geographic breadth of the crowd read: "Colorado Welcomes the PLO" and "Solidarité Québec-Palestine." Others were from Youngstown, Ohio; North Carolina; and other areas.

Many of the chants and placards were affirmations of Palestinian pride and identity in the face of pro-Zionist demonstrators who at earlier UN rallies have chanted "Arafat Must Die" and "There is no such thing as Palestine."

Signs read: "Palestine is My Homeland," "We Will Return to Palestine," "Palestine Forever," and "Palestine Lives." The black, white, green, and red Palestinian flag and the chants of "Long Live Palestine" and "Pal-

estine, Palestine" dominated the demonstration.

A contingent of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance participated in the demonstration with banners demanding "Self-Determination For Palestine" and "No U. S. Aid to Israel."

Other slogans included: "Oppose U. S.-Israeli Aggression Against Palestine" and "We Call on the American People to Support Palestinian Nation-

al Rights."

At the rally after the march from Central Park, Salim Fahmawi spoke for the Palestine Information Committee. Other speakers expressing their support for Palestinian self-determination included Alfredo Lopez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and a representative of Jewish Alternatives.

Several times during the march police formed flying wedges and seized individual Arab demonstrators for al-



One thousand marched in New York Nov. 13 for Palestinian self-determination

legedly carrying wood banner poles, which are illegal in New York City. Despite these provocations by the police, the demonstration was uninterrupted. Two members of the Jewish Defense League were later arrested trying to attack demonstrators who had left the rally site.

LOS ANGELES—One hundred fifty people, mainly from the Arab community, marched in front of the Federal Building here Nov. 13 in support of self-determination for Palestine. The picket line was called on a few days' notice by the United American-Arab Congress as a welcome to the Palestinian delegation to the UN.

Demands of the demonstrators included the establishment of a democratic and secular Palestine and an end to U. S. support to Israel.

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Twenty-five students from the Ohio State University Arab-American Association and the Young Socialist Alliance participated in a motorcade and march in downtown Columbus Nov. 12 to welcome the Palestine Liberation Organization delegation to the UN. The three local television stations, the two local newspapers, and the campus daily all covered the march.

...freedom march

Continued from page 1

such as the NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, churches, and other community groups should be contacted.

Many Black elected officials would be willing to make statements, appear at news conferences, and work to make public funds available for publicity and for transportation to Boston.

If we are to mobilize a tremendous show of strength in Boston, we must begin right now to involve the broadest possible forces. All Chicano and Puerto Rican groups, trade unions, political groups, women's organizations, students, and civil libertarians should be urged to join in.

Organized labor should be in the forefront of this action. The backing some Boston unions have given to the anti-busing protests is a foul blot on the record of the labor movement, one that can only be wiped out through a massive mobilization of unionists to defend civil rights and human dignity.

To stand aside is not only a moral outrage but a danger to the unions themselves. In this time of deepening economic crisis, reactionaries are out to make Blacks the scapegoats for the problems of white workers and thus to derail any struggle to defend living standards. Behind the anti-Black rioters in Boston stand the same forces that are out to drive down wages and break the unions.

Members of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) have taken the lead. A statement by Dennis Serrette, vice-president of Communications Workers of America Local 1101 and president of New York CBTU, declares, "Let us heed the call like the proud people we are, and let our voice be heard against racism and violence. Let's go to Boston."

The call for action should be taken to union locals throughout the country for resolutions of support, financial aid, and, most important, for rallying the union ranks.

Locals of the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have a special interest and obligation to join in this fight for a decent education for all students.

The Boston organizing committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has adopted a statement that "busing represents one of the ways that parents and children of the Black community are taking up the fight for equality in education and CLUW supports that struggle."

CLUW activists in other cities can explain how the attacks on Black rights in Boston pose a threat to the rights of all working women, as well, and begin organizing for a big turnout of union women on Dec. 14.

The proud determination of the Black students in Boston—braving racist taunts and violence to attend school—should be an inspiration to students everywhere to join in this action. Black student organizations and other campus groups can begin getting out the word through meetings, leaflets, and the campus media.

A special appeal should be made for veterans of the civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s to again take to the streets in the name of justice, equality, and freedom. Southern activists in particular are likely to be enthusiastic about taking part in this civilizing mission to Boston.

The capitalist news media are hiding the truth about Boston—playing down news of the continuing harassment and assaults against Blacks and catering to the notion that the antibusing movement is not really anti-Black. To get out the truth, explain the real issues, and win support for Dec. 14, a campaign of forums, teach-ins, news conferences, leafletting, and dispatching speakers to various groups is needed.

The Young Socialist Alliance is setting the pace by using the eight speaking tours leading up to its December convention in St. Louis to build participation in the Boston march. *The Militant* will continue our extensive first-hand coverage from Boston.

The lines are drawn in Boston today just as they were drawn in Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 and Selma, Ala., in 1965. Boston is a test for all who claim to support the rights of Black people.

In the words of William Owens, "We must link our arms, Black and white, and march together for the right of all schoolchildren to go to any school in safety. Let our voices and our presence say: 'NO to institutionalized racism, NO to racist mob violence, NO to racism in education, NO to the Boston school committee.' Our message must and will be heard around the world."

Militant gets around-I

The Militant's coverage of the events in Boston has been really helping it get around these days.

A Black newspaper published here, the *Black Times*, reprinted an article by Elizabeth Stone on the Ku Klux Klan's appearance in Boston (Oct. 18 *Militant*).

The article quoted from a Boston reporter who said that this "most famous white terrorist organization in the country had come to town and seemed only a little bit more wild-eyed and irrational than the established politicians."

The *Black Times* reprint had the headline, "TIME TO CHANGE THE SHEETS?"

R. F.

Palo Alto, Calif.

Militant gets around-II

Recently I was at Ball State University in Muncie, Ind., with the Michigan-Indiana Young Socialist team. While in Muncie, the team helped to build for a Boston Solidarity Day Teach-in, with an eyewitness of the Boston events speaking.

I happened to be making phone calls for the coalition formed to build the teach-in. We were contacting all kinds of campus groups for support, and one very important group was the Black Student Association. While I was speaking to a member of the BSA about the lack of media coverage on the Boston issue, she casually mentioned that she hadn't understood the seriousness of the situation until she read about it in "this paper called *The Militant*."

This pleased me very much, since the team had been selling the paper for only a day and a half at Ball State. Please keep printing the truth. A lot of people appreciate it.

Ann Owens

Detroit, Mich.

Greetings

I am extending my greetings to *The Militant*, its staff, and all its supporters who have made it possible for me to receive *The Militant*.

We do need this truth, for many of us are deprived of the truth, and thus ignorant of our very own conditions here in America—needless to speak of abroad.

So keep enlightening us who are in struggle for the truth and for better social-political change.

A prisoner

Kansas

No bumper

Please send another package of prepaid subscription cards. I finished the last pack one afternoon and had to use a regular sub form that night—a real bumper compared to the postcards.

Ben Harris

Nashville, Tenn.

[Prepaid subscription cards are a good way to win new subscribers to *The Militant*. Readers can buy the cards from *The Militant* and collect a dollar back each time they sell an introductory sub.

Each card already has a stamp on it, so all you have to do is fill

in the subscriber's name and address and drop it in the nearest mailbox.

The new reader will begin to receive *The Militant* the next week.

The cards are sold for \$1 each and are good for a two-month introductory subscription. Order from the *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Send \$5 for five cards or \$10 for 11.]

On federal troops

We have read with great interest *The Militant's* coverage of the struggle in Boston against the attacks on the right of Blacks to attend the schools of their choice.

It is beyond us how groups such as the Workers League, Spartacist, Revolutionary Union, and the Congress of African People refuse to support the demand of the Black community for federal troops to protect the Black children, whose lives are threatened.

We think an analogy can be made with the visit of Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to the UN. The Jewish Defense League publicly threatened to assassinate Arafat. In response, the Coast Guard, Air Force, FBI, and more than 1,000 New York City police were mobilized to protect Arafat.

Do these same sectarians and Maoists think that we should oppose this use of the armed forces of the state to protect Arafat? Maybe they think that the Arab community should oppose any governmental protection of him?

The opponents of the call for troops to Boston should examine the logic of their position. If applied to Arafat's visit, they would be blithely leaving him to the mercy of the Zionist hoodlums.

M. F. & F. F.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Socialist propaganda

I am disappointed in your paper. There is as much socialist propaganda in your paper as there is capitalist propaganda in their papers.

Please cancel my subscription immediately. And remove my name from all your mailing lists!

David Stanley

River Falls, Wis.

Texas remembers

It may interest *Militant* readers to know that Texans reelected Jesse James as our state treasurer and Dallasites reelected Warren G. Harding as our county treasurer—both by 2-to-1 margins.

R. R.

Dallas, Tex.

From a GI

The Militant is one of the best newspapers around today, but there is an oppressed group of people that you neglect to talk to and write about, and that is the GI.

We American servicemen are cut off from one another—we have no way of knowing what is happening in terms of such things as orga-

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Georgians for the ERA

nizations, court actions, and illegal harassment.

We can be much more effective if we are organized, not isolated as the government wants to keep us, and to do that we need a newspaper like *The Militant* to help us. A GI

Germany

For busing

Being a self-proclaimed "socialist," I used to be antibusing. I had the assumption that as long as a school is predominantly Black or predominantly white, it isn't necessarily a segregated school. But once the funds that were supposed to be allotted to each school evenly are given mostly to one school (the white one), the school then becomes segregated.

When I saw this take place I knew that the students of the all-Black school would receive an unbalanced education because of lack of necessary facilities and funds. When I saw all the money going to a few choice schools, then I became probusing.

If they won't distribute the money equally among the schools, then I feel it is appropriate to have our brothers and sisters bused to schools where they can achieve a balanced education.

It is time for the workers to have complete control of their schools. It is also time for the workers (whether Black or white) to start working hand-in-hand and living a harmonious life.

A prisoner

New York

ATLANTA—Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA) has a big, four-room office right in the heart of downtown Atlanta. The office is staffed full-time by two women with the help of dozens of volunteers who come in to help whenever they can.

I stopped by the GERA office recently to discuss the prospects of getting the ERA ratified in Georgia this year. The ERA has been ratified by 33 states so far and five more are needed before the amendment becomes law.

Linda Hughes and Mary Jo Vogel, the two women on full-time staff, were full of optimism. They're determined to make Georgia one of the states to ratify this year.

GERA has been in existence for more than a year. Last January they sponsored a march of 1,000 people to the state capitol in support of the ERA. The demonstration helped bring the ERA out of legislative committee for a vote, and although it was defeated 104 to 70, laid the basis for intensified efforts this year.

"We went on a big educational campaign," Vogel said, "and there's no question but that it had a big effect. There's a lot more understanding now of what the ERA is."

Hughes has been traveling around Georgia speaking on campuses and at community, church, and union meetings about the ERA. "I used to run into people with weird ideas about the ERA," she said. "But through our educational campaign, lots of people now know what it is and have come to support it."

Last year Phyllis Schlafly, the nationally prominent right-wing opponent of the ERA, spent some time in Georgia lobbying against the amendment. "A feminist from the National Organization for Women debated Schlafly on television," said Hughes, "and we had debates with other people too. Those kinds of things certainly helped."

The women in GERA find that opposition to the ERA from the average person usually comes from

confusion about it. "People have heard that the ERA would force women to work, or send them to the battlefield, or force men and women to use the same public bathrooms," Hughes said. "But I feel that once we present the facts and people understand what the ERA really is, then they support it."

One reason for GERA's optimism is the breadth of the coalition that has come together to sponsor another march on the capitol on Jan. 11, 1975, two days before the new legislative session opens.

The mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, and Representative Andrew Young have endorsed the march. So has the editor of Atlanta's Black newspaper, the *Atlanta Voice*. Black organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Conference of Black Lawyers, and the National Black Feminist Organization are also endorsers.

Unions have joined the coalition, including the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Office and Professional Employees International Union; the regional director of the United Auto Workers; and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

And, of course, most of the women's liberation groups are participating.

This same coalition recently sponsored a conference where 350 people discussed the plans for the Jan. 11 demonstration. They also planned for pickets and vigils to continue once the legislature opens.

Between now and Jan. 11 the GERA has ambitious plans to reach as many people as possible. Already they are scheduled to speak at 10 union meetings. Leafletting, campus meetings, and radio and television shows are also planned.

Linda Hughes pointed out that the state of Georgia didn't even ratify the women's suffrage amendment until 1970, "and we do have until March 1979 to get the ERA ratified nationally. But we think that with the pressure we're building the Georgia legislature will have to deal with the ERA very soon."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



A little-known law

Few remember that a bill was passed in 1946 by the 79th Congress and signed into law by President Truman called the Full Employment Act.

It says the government is responsible for creating and maintaining "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking work. . . ." It is still on the books.

Truman ignored the law after winning the 1948 election. When the economy sagged and jobs were scarce before the Korean war he announced that a certain amount of unemployment is a good thing. It helps keep wages down and encourages people to work harder.

The present economic crisis has convinced a few million more that unemployment is not a good thing for them, and many who still have jobs are beginning to agree. This has jogged the memories of some with well-paying positions in the union officialdom.

AFL-CIO Research Director Nat Goldfinger recently complained to a Senate labor subcommittee, "It will soon be three decades since the Employment Act of 1946 committed the government to promote maximum production, employment, and purchasing power." This, Goldfinger sagely observed, the government has failed to do.

Union officials have from time to time sought to invoke the 1946 law against the threat of rising unemployment, always to no avail. It was cited in a resolution adopted by the United Electrical Workers at its 1971 convention. The resolution urged such steps as a shorter workweek, better unemployment benefits, and a program of public works.

Also in 1971 David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Distributive Workers, filed a class-action lawsuit against Nixon, Labor Secretary Hodgson, and Attorney General Mitchell. The suit was brought on behalf of all unemployed members of District 65

and sought to compel the government to provide useful jobs and decent pay for them, as required by the law.

This action was surely enough to qualify Livingston for a place on Nixon's enemies list, and Mitchell, as chief law enforcer, must have moved to quash this attempt to brand him a violator of the law.

But some changes in government personnel have taken place since 1971. There is another president, another secretary of labor, and another attorney general. These are changes without much difference. Most recently there has also been a change in the composition of the Congress.

Some say the new Congress will be different, that it may even be a "veto-proof Congress." If this is so one of the things that ought to be expected of it is to prevent the administration from vetoing laws passed 28 years ago.

It could be that if the union leaders appeal to the new Congress for enforcement of the 1946 Full Employment Act then all the unemployed will be given jobs. This would seem to be a modest request, especially since the unions contributed so much to the election of the new Congress.

But those who are out of work and others who will be shouldn't count on that. If they do it's likely to be a long time between meals for most of them.

The union movement and the unemployed will win a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, and they will win a national public works program to undertake the rebuilding of this country, only through massive strike actions and political demonstrations for these goals.

When these actions are planned it will be a certain advantage to know that we have not only justice and necessity on our side, but also the law of the land. It may never do much good, but it won't harm the *Jobs For All* cause.

PAIGC

The PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands) National Support Committee is in the process of compiling all data related to the development of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the struggle for independence of the people of Cape Verde.

We are asking all groups in support of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde to send any relevant information to us. In return our support committee will send any communiques we receive giving news of the struggle.

We must all continue to work even harder to insure the independence of Cape Verde, so that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, under the leadership of PAIGC, will go forward in the struggle against hunger, disease, ignorance, and economic and social injustice, which have been inflicted upon our people by the retrograde system of Portuguese colonialism.

Faith Rivera

Chairperson of Information

PAIGC National Support Committee

P.O. Box M365

New Bedford, Mass. 02744

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.



Things-are-tough-all-over dep't— True, 1974 oil profits are running 65 percent ahead of 1973, says Texaco vice-president Kerry King, but it's still not enough to finance exploration and development. "Inflation hurts us as much as anybody," he stated.

A specter is haunting Europe— British authorities promised to investigate after cleaners at London's Heathrow Airport refused to work in a jet terminal where one worker claimed a ghost grabbed him by the throat. "We don't want a work stoppage because of a ghost," an airport official said.

Might replace the manger— For an Xmas gift with social significance,

give the youngster a plastic replica of McDonald's. Complete with parking space, cars, food trays, etc. Under \$9. Litter and pollution, we assume, extra.

Antisaboteur— Nixon's tight buddy, Robert Abplanalp, whose company makes the valves for the aerosol cans that researchers say are dangerously depleting the ozone layer, said that "extremists in the area of ecology and consumer protection are waging today a more effective war on American industry than the most capable host of enemy saboteurs."

No snake oil?— Saks Fifth Avenue offered appointments for a "bi-cellular skin renewal clinic." Treatment included: "Skin Vegetable Peel-Off: It

sloughs off dead, callused skin cells. . . . Electro-Organic Skin Polishing: Removes Peel-Off. . . . Paraffin Heat Treatment: Warm paraffin brushed on the face to help melt sebaceous oils. . . . Skin Ironing: A minifacial iron is pressed over trouble spots. . . ." \$12.50, including a free quarter ounce of Peel-Off.

All kinds of confusion— One New York bank chain is installing neon signs on its buildings that can be triggered during a stickup to flash, "Robbery in progress." One police official was skeptical, saying it could draw crowds, tip off an accomplice, and otherwise impede police functioning. Also, people might think it's just a reminder that the bank is open.



'You don't think there's any danger of corruption in high places getting any higher, do you, Reverend?'

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



La migra's Gestapo tactics

LOS ANGELES—Anyone who thinks the Chicano movement exaggerates when it says that *la migra* (the Immigration Service) uses Gestapo-like tactics against all Latin-looking and Latin-sounding persons in this country would do well to take note of the following incident.

It was reported in the sports section of the Nov. 9 *Los Angeles Times*:

"Alexis Arguello, the Nicaraguan featherweight champion who fights Rubén Olivares for the WBA [World Boxing Association] title at the Forum Nov. 23, had just finished a shopping excursion in downtown Los Angeles Friday when an incident occurred that left him 'insulted and mortified.'

"Arguello, 22, fighting out of Central America for the first time and a young man who does not speak English, was waiting for a cab in front of the Alexandria Hotel when he was seized by agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Department.

"Arguello, trainer Ramon Dosman, assistant trainer Luis Cortez and sparring partner Mario Martinez did not have their entry papers with them.

"They were placed in a paddy wagon, forced to lie on the floor, according to Arguello, and de-

tained for an hour before convincing the agents that their papers were at the Olympian Motor Hotel. They produced their papers after being taken to the Olympian 'under guard.'

"I never thought anything like this could happen here," Arguello said through an interpreter.

"The Nicaraguan consul in Los Angeles protested the incident and vice consul Sylvia M. Aubert said she had received an apology from the Immigration Department."

This humiliating treatment is what Chicanos, *mexicanos* and other Latinos in Los Angeles are being increasingly subjected to. The area where Arguello was picked up is in the heart of downtown Los Angeles. It is where many Spanish-language movies and bookstores are centered along with numerous other shops catering to Latinos.

In an area like this, *la migra* feels free to stop anybody they like and demand that they prove their citizenship.

Arguello was fortunate to be a well-known sports figure and to have the Nicaraguan consulate intervene on his behalf. If he had not been famous, in all likelihood he would have been sent to the "detention center" in El Centro and would have

woken up the next morning in Mexicali.

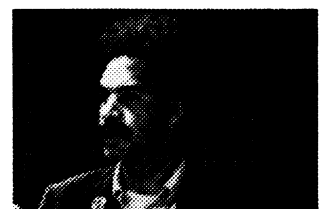
Thousands of Chicanos and *mexicanos* were deported during the dragnet raids carried out by *la migra* in the spring of 1973. Some had perfectly legal entry papers, and some were citizens. Three Puerto Ricans picked up in Chicago were deported to Mexico. Some did not happen to have their papers on them. But even those who did were harassed.

I spoke to victims of the raids here who reported that Immigration agents would not let them go home to get their papers, or that when they got them, the agent would say, "These look false to me; you'd better come in for questioning."

Incidents like this point up once again what the real reasons are for the existence of immigration laws and the Immigration Service. Immigration laws are used to keep a certain sector of the population ("illegals") intimidated, docile, and alienated from other working people. But the laws are also used the same way to intimidate all Chicanos. There can be no such thing as making the immigration laws more "fair" or reforming *la migra*. The very existence of these laws and agencies is reactionary. We must fight to eliminate them completely.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Black women on ERA, abortion rights

Once upon a time, a few self-appointed Black men thought it was in vogue at a meeting to arise in debate, steaming full of hot oratory, declaring women's liberation did not apply to Black women—it was a white woman's thing. They would jabber about how Black women didn't need to be liberated. Upon hearing this, some Black women would just be mum, others would be mum though resentful, but a few would summon the daring and denounce the nonsense.

Times are changing and nowadays Black women are coming forward in growing numbers, speaking out against their oppression and organizing to end it. And as for those loose-lipped brothers, well, they're learning.

Black women have been hosting and attending conferences, meetings, and seminars as their awareness of their oppression as Black women deepens.

But the growing awareness of Black women's oppression has not been confined solely to Black women.

As the awareness of women's oppression as a whole deepens in society, it affects the social relations and many of the institutions in the Black community. The Black press, for example, has

been running more articles reflecting the attitudes and thinking of Black women on women's issues.

Earlier this year, before the Florida state legislature voted against the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), the *Miami Times*, a Black newspaper, ran several articles on how passage of the ERA would benefit Black women.

Gwen Cherry, one of two Black women legislators in Florida, urging Black women to back the ERA, told of some of its advantages. "First," she wrote, "it would permit them to enjoy an Amendment especially written for them. The psychological gain from this constitutional recognition would be tremendous."

Cherry said the ERA is broader than the Fourteenth Amendment because it prohibits the federal government as well as the states from denying or abridging rights because of sex.

"Finally," Cherry said, "the Equal Rights Amendment strikes a blow at the powerlessness which all women share, but which black women experience in high degrees."

Polls and surveys also show that Black women are becoming more concerned about issues such

as sexual stereotyping, the lack of quality child-care facilities, forced sterilization, and abortion.

In Pennsylvania, for example, the legislature passed a new restrictive abortion bill. The new law requires parental consent for women under 18, and a husband's consent for married women. It also puts an end to state subsidization of abortions for women on welfare.

The law has been challenged in court and declared unconstitutional, but the state is appealing the court's decision.

A poll taken by the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a Black newspaper, found the majority of Black women opposed to the new bill. Here's what two women think:

"Emma Root, a North Philadelphia mother, said she felt such a matter should be kept personal and decided on an individual basis. 'One state can't strip a citizen of her private rights to ensure good mental or physical health.'

"D. Randolph, a city employee, said the legislature has intruded into a very private area. 'If a woman wants to get an abortion, she should be able to do so. It's strictly a personal matter.'

'Our voices must be heard'

Support grows for Boston freedom march

By WENDY LYONS

Around the country, supporters of Black civil rights are organizing participation in the Dec. 14 national Freedom March in Boston.

On Dec. 14 those who defend the Boston Black community's right to desegregated schools will have a chance to answer the racists by participating in the Boston demonstration and in solidarity actions from coast to coast.

Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens appeared at a news conference in New York City Nov. 20 to build support for Dec. 14. Owens, a member of the legislative Black Caucus, initiated the call for the Freedom March.

"Our voices must be heard," he said, "and we appeal, therefore, to every individual, every organization, every city, and every state to join with us in a demonstration to let the school committee and others similarly situated know that we will no longer tolerate the injustices that are being perpetrated on our children."

Dennis Serrette, president of the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, chaired the news conference. He said, "We know there is a better element in America than what's shown its face in Boston. This demonstration must awaken that element."

Owens explained, "The issue in Boston is not busing. That's a charade. For years white parents bused their children into the heart of predominantly Black Roxbury to attend the quality technical high school there. They never balked at that. It is only now when we talk about equality of resources that they balk."

"H. Rap Brown was put on trial for making statements allegedly inciting to riot," Owens pointed out, "but when people in the Boston school committee and city council disobey the law and actually encourage riots, nothing is done. We have to turn this around."

Also appearing at the New York news conference were Larry Durgin, pastor of the Broadway United Church of Christ; John Collins, president of the Methodist Federation for Social Action; Bill Kaessinger, executive board member of Local 10 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; a representative of Women United for Action, a consumer group; and attorney Florynce Kennedy.

Kennedy said, "The racists understand that what's going on in Boston is a national issue, and they have



Militant/Baxter Smith

Dennis Serrette, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, addressing New York news conference. Other participants (from left to right): Massachusetts state senator-elect William Owens; Claudette Furlong, Women United for Action; and attorney Florynce Kennedy.

been mobilizing on a national scale. The racists marching in Boston will speak for all of us unless we answer them. I especially urge feminists to participate in this. We have a duty to answer those women who are leading the antibusing movement."

The New York news conference followed earlier conferences in Boston and Chicago.

More than 400 individuals and organizations have endorsed the Dec. 14 Freedom March on Boston. Among the sponsoring organizations are: Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Black Caucus of the Communications Workers of America, National Council of Churches Commission for the Elimination of Racism, Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and the American Federation of Teachers Local 672 (in Kentucky).

Also, Boston organizing committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Baltimore NAACP, Young Socialist Alliance, Crusade for Justice, Catholic Worker Movement, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Prominent individuals who have endorsed include Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), a member of the Congressional Black Caucus; Julius Hobson, Washington, D. C., city council member; Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; Margaret Sloane, chairperson, National Black Feminist Organization; and

Richard Niebur, vice-president, United Electrical Workers District 7.

Also, Rexford Weng, vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 575; Leontyne Price, opera singer; Bill Worthington, president of the Black Lung Association, Kentucky; Milton Tambor, president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1640.

Also, Lucinda Hargrave, of the National Association of Letter Carriers and a national steering committee member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Marie Hasagawa, president of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom; Professor Howard Zinn, Boston University; and Father Phillip Berrigan.

Meetings around country

At a news conference on Nov. 15 in Louisville, Ky., Walter Collins, executive secretary of SCEF, announced that people from Louisville and northern Kentucky will be mobilized to go to Boston. Other organizing meetings and news conferences are being held across the country.

In an interview, Owens told *The Militant*, "All over the country people have been saying they will come to Boston. The fact that folks will be coming from the South to Boston signifies that the Boston situation has gone beyond the city and affects the whole country." Owens reported that an office has been set up in Birmingham, Ala., to organize buses to Boston.

At the New York news conference Florynce Kennedy reported that she has recently spoken in Dubuque, Iowa; Bryn Mawr, Pa.; and at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine.

"We are getting a good response to the demonstration," she said. "Bowdoin College students are organizing buses. We should demand that college administrations all over the country organize buses to Boston. If they can do it for the football team they can do it for this."

Owens urged people who cannot come to Boston to hold solidarity demonstrations in their own cities. "We want this thing to catch on like wildfire across the country," he said.

In Boston, organizers of the Freedom March report that more than 40,000 leaflets were distributed in the first week after the action was announced. Local campus organizing committees have sprung up and meetings are being planned on the major Boston campuses.

On Nov. 19, the Integrated Quality Education Committee held a news conference to announce plans for a local demonstration to support desegregation, to be held in Boston on Nov. 30. Rabbi Roland Gittleson stated, "It is our hope we will build up momentum and that the rally on Nov. 30 will add to the national mobilization on Dec. 14."

Support continues to grow on a daily basis for the Dec. 14 action. In a statement released Nov. 18, Cleveland Robinson, first vice-president of the Distributive Workers of America, said, "I wholeheartedly endorse and support the Call to Boston. . . . In our society mob rule and racism are elements repugnant to all Americans who embrace the principles stated in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution."

Statement from Fuentes

Luis Fuentes, suspended superintendent of Manhattan's school District 1, and four members of the school board issued a statement on Nov. 20. It

Continued on page 26

Black unionist backs protest

The following is from a statement that was issued Nov. 13 by Dennis Serrette, president of the New York State chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Recently we have witnessed beatings and bloodshed of our Brothers and Sisters and Children in Boston at the hands of Racist whites, who sought to deny us *Quality Education*.

We have witnessed what was believed to be the destruction of racism in the South, only to see it rise with the support of President Ford in the North (Boston).

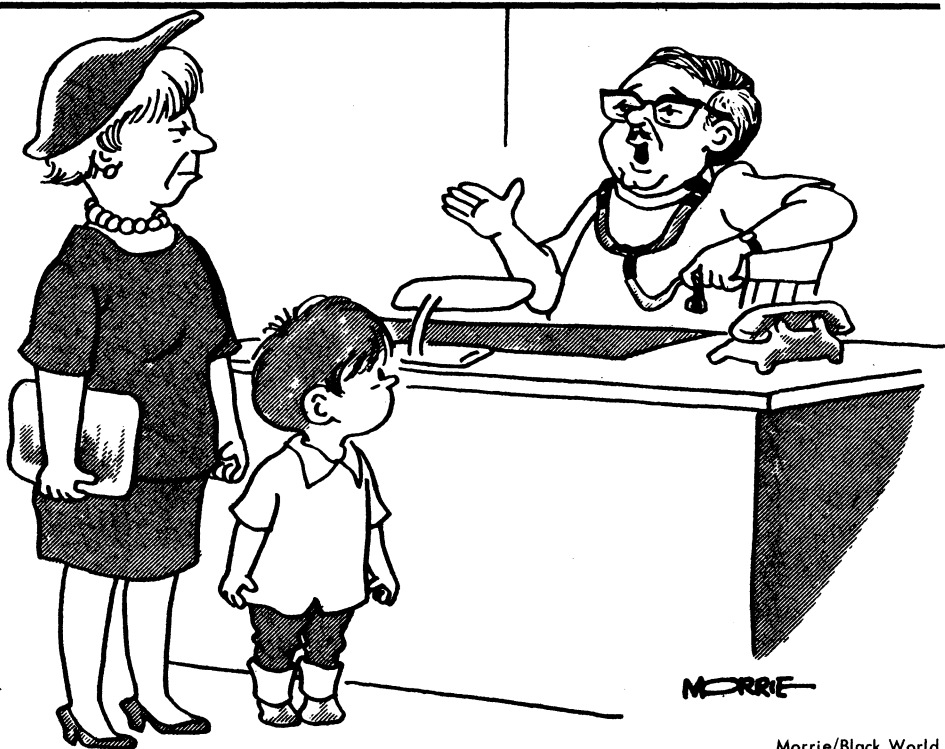
We have witnessed one of the most popular liberal candidates for possible future Presidential considerations (Senator Teddy Kennedy) run and remain silent from one of the most naked acts of racism against blacks since Meredith broke the color line at ole Mississippi over a decade ago.

We have watched and we have waited for some relief to come to our people in the Boston area as they suffered these pains of humiliation, but none came. Instead, we witnessed the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan and the American NAZI party come out of their darkness and despair to be reborn, and fed by the racist whites in South Boston.

We have witnessed, the almost deafening silence of the news media. . . .

Brothers and Sisters we will wait no longer. The *call* is going out to all black trade unionists to join with others in organizing toward a National Peaceful Mobilization Against Racism and Violence in Boston, December 14, 1974. . . .

No person, no group, no organization has the right to bestow violence and racist tactics to deny entrance to children to public schools. State Senator William Owens has issued a National Call to Boston, to demonstrate against racism and violence. *Let us heed the call like the proud people we are, and let our voice be heard against racism and violence, let's go to Boston.*

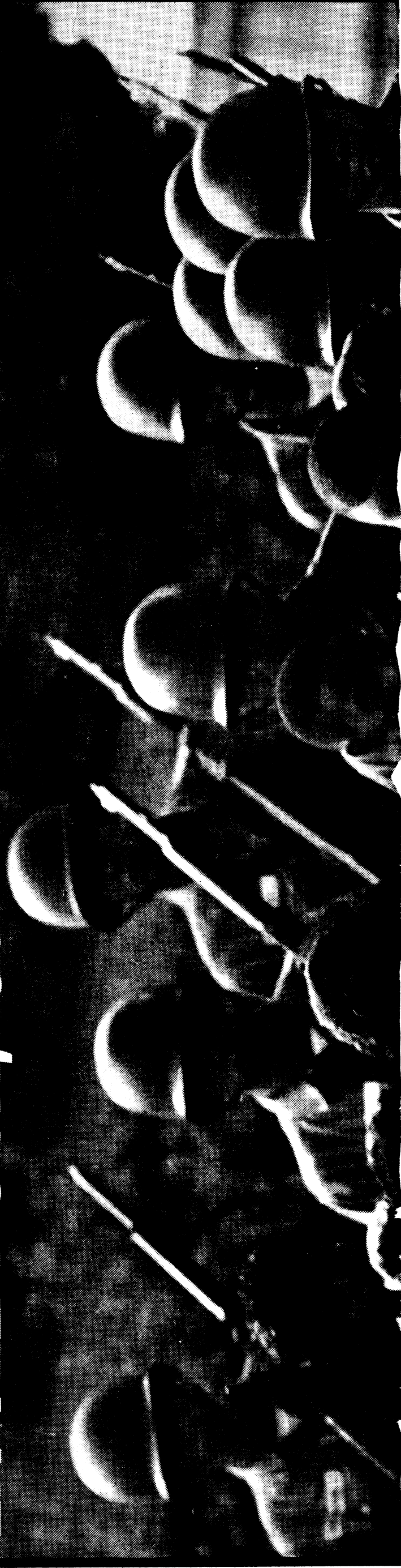


Morrie/Black World

"I'm sorry, Mrs. Fernworth, but I can find no evidence that your son is allergic to busing."

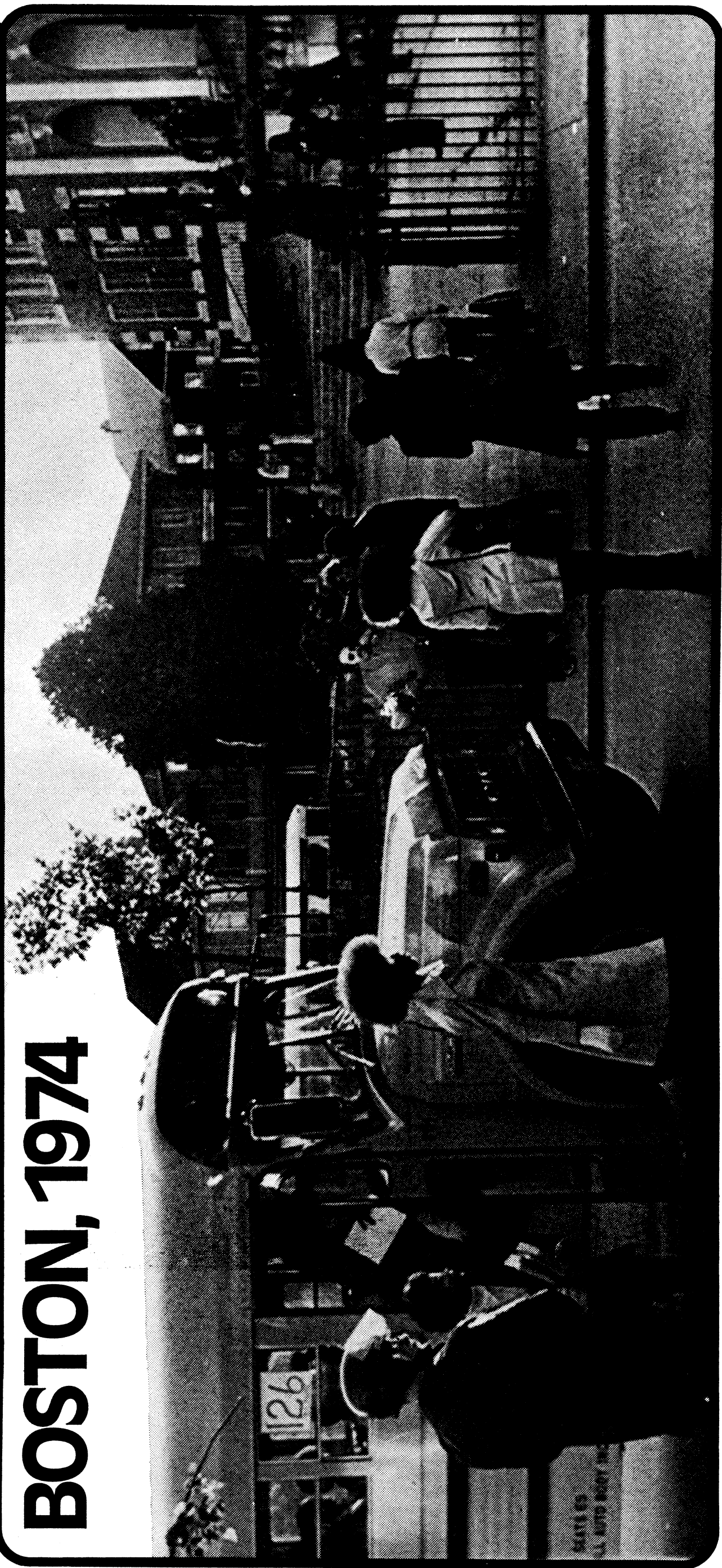
JOIN THE FREEDOMRIDE TO BOSTON

LITTLE ROCK, 1957





BOSTON, 1974



MARCH AGAINST RACISM/DEC. 14

A MILITANT POSTER/14 CHARLES LANE/NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

School committee sabotages tour

Banned in Boston: students for desegregation

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—The arrival and departure of 36 Black and white students from integrated schools in the South made big headlines here. The students are part of Project Interaction, a coalition of 35 organizations, which raised \$12,000 to bring the students north to show that "if integration worked in North Carolina, it can work in Boston."

But the students were forbidden to even set foot in Boston city schools by edict of the racist Boston school committee.

The school committee is one of the main organizers of resistance to desegregation of the Boston schools.

Why did the school committee block Project Interaction, whose stated aim was to help cool the tension generated by opposition to desegregation? Chairman John Kerrigan put it bluntly: "I couldn't permit our schools to be used for propaganda to show that integration is working," he told the *Boston Herald-American*.

Last month, the school committee had ordered two Black and two white Boston students to return from Charlotte, N.C., where they were visiting integrated schools as the first stage of Project Interaction.

Because of the school committee's stand, the southern students spent most of their time in white suburban schools, some of which are part of the Metco program. Metco is a private agency that carries out a modest city/suburban busing program.

The 36 students also met with some Boston students at a YMCA and were saluted by the National Center for Afro-American Artists at a send-off party. At all of the meetings, with the exception of those at the suburban schools, the attendance was predominantly Black. Many Black students, who are the targets of daily racist violence and abuse, saw these meetings as a demonstration of solidarity with their struggle.

The southern students proposed four

steps to aid desegregation. These included publishing a city-wide student newspaper, setting up a rumor-control center in each school, expanding cultural and social programs, and carrying out more communication between students and authorities.

What the students from the South thought about the Boston school committee was more muted—but criticisms of the racist committee came out anyway. The only "interaction" project the school committee favors is the racist school boycott.

"I think the school committee members are really stupid for not letting the southern kids come to our schools," one Black student said. "I came close to a lot of really good people."

"We didn't come here to rabble-rouse," said Don Turbyfill, a white student government officer from West Charlotte High School in North Carolina. "I've found from experience that segregated schools are not equal."

The school committee's crude refusal to allow this message to be heard in the Boston schools is an indication of the kind of fight that is needed to defend and extend desegregation in the city.



Southern student from desegregated school (left) greeted by Boston student.

Black students tell how it is in Boston schools

By OLLIE BIVINS

BOSTON—It is 7:30 a.m. A crisp, gusty New England wind brings shivers to the 50 Black students huddled together in clumps of three and four trying to keep warm. Two rows of school buses are neatly lined up, about to open their doors to their Black passengers. Nearby, red-faced Boston motorcycle policemen mill around observing the students.

The Black students are from the nearby, predominantly Black Columbia Point housing projects. Soon the school buses they are about to board will whisk them to schools in South Boston.

Boston is entering its eighth week of court-ordered busing. During that time hardly a day has passed without violent attacks and racial insults against Black students, by either racist white students or their parents.

As white attendance at the schools has begun to slowly creep up, the at-



Black students still have to put up with violent attacks and racist insults in Boston schools.

tacks have not let up.

One of the students waiting to board the buses, Janet Williams, an eleventh-grader at South Boston High School, said, "In the lunchroom the white students always call us 'niggers' and throw food at us. And 50 white girls wait for us in the school basement and call us 'niggers.'"

On top of this abuse, Black students are more likely than whites to be disciplined by school authorities.

Evelyn Jones angrily remarked, "The Blacks are always getting expelled." Another student explained that when fights break out, "the cops always grab the Blacks and start kicking and pushing them, and they never do anything to the whites. The only time they suspend the whites is if there's about 10 Blacks getting suspended to that white—that's the only time they suspend one."

Another student added, "When a

Black student goes up the hall and a white person says something to him and jumps him, the Black student gets suspended."

In addition to violent attacks and racial insults from white students, Blacks also have to put up with the racist attitudes of their white teachers and principals. Debra Reiner, a student at the Hart-Dean School in South Boston, said, "Our principal told us he didn't want any Blacks in that school." Another woman quickly added, "Our principal doesn't say that or we'd boo him."

Word is beginning to spread that there will be a national Freedom March for Human Dignity in Boston Dec. 14. One student, Steve James, commented, "I think this demonstration is a good thing, because it's not right for the whites to attack the Blacks who are going to school. Everybody has a right to an education, no matter what color they are."

Militant postal strike paralyzes French mails

From Intercontinental Press

Tens of thousands of workers marched in the rain through Paris November 15 in a demonstration called by France's major unions to protest the police eviction the previous night of pickets occupying post offices.

The cops' attack on the striking postal workers followed within hours a call by the Conseil National du Patronat Français (CNPF—National Council of French Employers) demanding that the government set up a "parallel postal system" to overcome the effects of the postal workers' strike, now in its fifth week.

Soldiers are already being used to move some mail.

The Giscard d'Estaing government has refused to negotiate seriously with the unions involved, claiming that the strike is primarily "political." It has implied that the two major labor federations, the General Confederation of Labor (CGT—Confédération Générale du Travail) and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT—Confédération Française et

Démocratique du Travail), are simply using the strike to embarrass the government, to the benefit of the Union of the Left, which their leaders support.

The mail strike actually started as a rank-and-file initiative, however. And, to the surprise of the government, it has held firm week after week, despite a fierce campaign of slander against the workers. (For example, the minister for Postal and Telecommunications Services, Pierre Lelong, has publicly called the postal workers "stupid," and said that many of them are lazy.)

The strike by the 250,000 postal workers is the central struggle in a wave of strikes that has swept France in recent weeks. Many of the strikers are government employees, who are generally paid less than workers in private industry.

The key issues in these strikes are wages and job security. Prices are currently rising at a 17 percent yearly rate, and the government reported in October that 534,000 workers were listed as unemployed.

There have been large-scale layoffs

in the automobile, textile, and printing trades.

The postal workers have held massive demonstrations in Paris and other cities to back their demands.

These demands include a 200 francs (1 franc equals about US\$0.22) across-the-board minimum catch-up payment; a minimum wage of 1,700 francs a month; the upgrading of auxiliary workers to full status, and an end to the hiring of auxiliary workers; the hiring of more full-time employees to cope with the growing work load; and improved working conditions.

They are also demanding that the Post Office grant full pay for the days lost in the strike, as a precondition to continuing negotiations.

Statistics cited in *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly, indicate the conditions that give rise to the postal workers' militancy. Of the 250,000 workers, about a third are auxiliaries—many of them students working part time—who earn less than 1,500 francs a month and don't qualify for unemployment insurance.

Four-fifths of the 100,000 postal

workers in Paris come from the provinces, where jobs are scarcer and wages lower. Post office workers' wages are among the lowest paid to state employees.

An October 28 demonstration by postal workers was the biggest such mobilization Paris has seen. About 20,000 sorters and handlers marched in front of the postal ministry building.

On November 8, other public-sector workers joined with the mail strikers in a demonstration of 35,000.

On November 12, the CGT and CFDT called a one-day general strike for November 19, in solidarity with the postal workers and other strikers. Three days later, immediately following the police attack on the striking postal workers, the 550,000-member National Education Federation (Fédération de l'Education Nationale), the largest teachers union, said it would join the November 19 demonstrations "to protest threats to the right to strike."

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 29, 1974

'Caramanlis or the tanks'

Greece: premier maneuvers for election 'mandate'

By Gerry Foley

Greek premier Constantine Caramanlis's decision at the end of September to call elections within a few weeks (the date was finally set for November 17, the first anniversary of the massacre of the students occupying the Athens Polytechnic Institute) touched off a storm of protest from virtually all political forces outside his government. It also apparently created tensions in the cabinet itself.

The reason for this reaction was clear to all. The old parliamentary strongman was aiming to take advantage of the fear of a comeback by the junta to stage a Bonapartist-type plebiscite. The left parties protested that the country was being asked to choose between "Caramanlis and the tanks."

These parties pointed out, too, that it was doubtful that genuinely free elections could be held while the junta's repressive bodies still remain intact, and while the administration set up in the countryside by the junta is still virtually untouched. Even the left papers, they said, could not yet circulate freely in the provinces.

Even Caramanlis's coalition partner, the bourgeois liberal Enosis tou Kentrou (EK—Center Union), could not be very enthusiastic about the old rightist's maneuver for an unlimited personal mandate. The EK had already been severely split by its participation in the government. And it could not expect much of a role in a de Gaulle-type regime.

Andreas Papandreou called the projected elections an "electoral coup d'etat."

The Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras (EDA—Union of the Democratic Left, the old CP electoral front now dominated by the "interior" faction of the Greek Stalinists) objected at first to the system set up for the election.

The "interior" faction's protest against Caramanlis's electoral maneuver sharpened when they got an indication of the type of campaign he intended to wage. On October 3, the premier said in his opening statement:

"And if the Greek people do not make good use of their vote this time, it will be no good complaining in the future when what happened in the past happens again."

In its October 30 issue, *Aughi*, the journal of the "interior" faction, complained that the premier was beginning to use the same language about parliamentary democracy as the colonels before the 1967 coup.

Caramanlis's objective seems to be similar to the one the right wing of the Portuguese provisional government tried unsuccessfully to achieve in July;

that is, to establish a strong bourgeois government on the basis of a Bonapartist plebiscite, thus avoiding the need to rely on a popular-front government.

In July, the Portuguese premier—at the time, Palma Carlos—wanted immediate elections. He played up the likelihood of the dictatorship if General Spínola did not get an unlimited mandate to run the country. Palma Carlos lost his gamble when the

Both factions of the Greek Communist party (KKE—Kommounistiko Komma tes Ellados) had hoped that the fall of the dictatorship at the end of July would open the way for a popular-front government like the one in Portugal. This was evident in the way they pressed from the first to be included in the cabinet and in the way they supported Caramanlis in the early weeks.

Even after the premier's "operation



Constantine Caramanlis took over as Greek prime minister after fall of military junta in July. He is now trying to stabilize right-wing parliamentary regime.

Armed Forces Movement proved unwilling to let Spínola and the forces behind him take full control of the government.

The fact that Caramanlis has succeeded so far in doing what Spínola and Palma Carlos failed to do illustrates the difference as well as the similarity between the political position of the bourgeoisies in Greece and Portugal. In both countries, the capitalists are faced with the problem of finding stable formulas for bourgeois democratic rule after a long period of naked dictatorship.

But in Greece, unlike Portugal, the ruling class has effective political machines and skilled electoral politicians that directly represent its interests. This fact in particular has thus far greatly limited the parliamentary opportunities for the reformist workers parties in Greece and forced them to modify their strategy.

de Gaulle" was under way, the "interior" faction called once again (in the October 1 *Aughi*) for a "government of national unity" after the elections. But by that time it was clear that their only hope of winning a post in the cabinet was to demonstrate strength at the polls. Facing a strong bourgeois coalition, the CPs had only one place to turn. They made a strategic retreat toward the proletarian side of the class line.

This turn was exemplified by Mikis Theodorakis, the well-known Greek composer and musician, who has moved in Stalinist circles for many years. Of all the traditional left figures, he had probably gone the furthest in his support for Caramanlis. Now he has announced, "My home is on the left."

In a news conference held at the Plakas nightclub "Zoum" in the first week in October, Theodorakis said:

"I had the courage to say yes to Caramanlis when he came here after the dictatorship, and I am ready to do it again, because if Caramanlis disappears from the scene at this point, the tanks will come again. I am with Caramanlis when it comes to opposing fascism—and that is all. But I say no to Caramanlis when he represses my songs, which are stronger than any ban."

The musician had explained earlier that nine out of ten of his scheduled concerts had been banned by the authorities.

In the October 10 issue of *Aughi*, Theodorakis was listed as one of the ten members of the executive committee of the Enomene Aristera (United Left), the newly formed electoral coalition of the two factions of Greek Stalinism. The other members were as follows: Elias Eliou, Kharilaos Florakis, Vasilis Eufraimidis, Stauros Eliopoulos, Nikolaos Kaloudis, Nikolaos Kyriakidis, Leonidas Kyrkos, Giorgios Speliopoulos, and Kostas Filines. The most widely known are Eliou, the chairman of the EDA; and Florakis, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the "exterior" CP.

Kostas Filines and Leonidas Kyrkos are prominent members of the "interior" CP, but they were listed as representing the EDA and not the "interior" CP. This was part of the bargain between the two factions, since the "exterior" group, the "Exoterikoi," does not recognize the existence of two Communist parties and claims to be the "one and only" CP in Greece. As far as the Exoterikoi are concerned, the United Left is a bloc between the KKE and the EDA, and that is how it is referred to by their paper *Rizospastis*.

The pressure of Caramanlis's operation led these two groups to form a bloc despite their deep hostility. It was a matter of survival.

The influence of the Kremlin and the lesser power centers in the world Stalinist movement also seems to have played a role in producing this coalition. Like Portugal, Greece is a crucial test case for Moscow's political strategy in Europe as well as for all the European Communist parties.

It is symptomatic that the preamble of the EA, while it contains many socialist-sounding formulations, defines the front as "national and democratic" and concludes with this appeal:

"Greek men and women, all those who want a genuine progressive democracy should vote enthusiastically for the Enomene Aristera. Send to parliament the strongest possible representation of this great people's bloc, the Enomene Aristera."

Prospects for sharpening struggle

Mass protests hit British repression in N. Ireland

By Patricia Fryd

London

In the mass demonstrations that followed the October 15 revolt in Long Kesh concentration camp, the Catholic population of Northern Ireland came onto the streets on a scale greater than at any time since August 1971, when the concentration camp system was introduced.

The scope and intensity of these protests by the oppressed community testified to the profound and powerful feeling of desperation stemming from decades of brutal repression and a half decade of direct military subjugation by the forces of British imperialism. The arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of several hundred persons in the small Catholic neighborhoods became the focus for resentment against the whole repressive machine.

The election of a Labour government in February brought no let-up in the repression in Northern Ireland, nor any more consideration for the aspirations of the island-wide nationalist majority trapped in the British imperialist enclave.

In the period before the October 10 general elections for the United Kingdom parliament, the Ministry of Defense sent an extra 750 soldiers to Northern Ireland to join the forces that were already being used to intimidate the Catholic population. In particular, the army had distinguished itself in these weeks by harassing the campaign of the Republican Clubs, the only militant organization in the Catholic ghettos that tried to offer a general alternative in the elections.

The announcement of the elections on September 18 was apparently taken by reactionary terrorists as a signal for a new wave of attacks on the Catholic population. In the short period between the start of the electoral campaign and the mid-October prison revolts, fourteen Catholics were assassinated and many injured by pro-imperialist goons.

Far from attempting to halt the killings (many of which have been claimed by paramilitary rightist gangs), the British army has merely called upon the public to provide more information to military intelligence. At the same time, the troops stepped up their raids on the Catholic ghettos.

The protests of mid-October left no room for doubt about the feelings of the nationalist-minded population, almost 40 percent of the total in the British enclave. Internment "is the one

IRA-inspired grievance around which virtually the whole Roman Catholic community unites," the *London Times* admitted in an editorial October 17, without explaining how the IRA had "inspired" it.

But this fact did not induce the supposedly "democratic" and "socialist" government in London to change its course. On October 17, the secretary of state for Northern Ireland, Merlyn Rees, informed the public that the massive protests of the Catholic community would not influence him in any way to change the policy. As if to underscore the point, on the same day 500 more troops were sent into Northern Ireland.

Between Thursday, October 17, and the afternoon of Friday, October 18, the army had arrested more than 500 persons in the Lower Falls Road Catholic ghetto of Belfast alone. Arrests have continued in the six counties of Northern Ireland. In the small County Armagh village of Jonesborough, for instance, one-third of the adult population was rounded up on the weekend of October 19-20.

Behind the Upsurge

Some specific factors helped to spark the present upsurge. During the summer, the London government set up the Gardiner Committee to "examine" the Emergency Provisions Act, which provides much of the legal cover for the repression, and to examine the internment system. This helped to focus attention more strongly on the internment issue as Catholic and Protestant groupings gathered and presented evidence to the committee. Then, on September 5, Rees made a statement ruling out any immediate end to internment.

Next, the internees and other political prisoners in Long Kesh, including both republicans (i.e., militant nationalists) and members of the reactionary Protestant terrorist organizations, exploded into protest actions over camp conditions, hurling their rotten food over the fences and issuing a joint statement of demands. Visitors joined the demonstrations. In retaliation, the prison administration banned food parcels and visitors. Protests quickly spread to other prisons, and barricades went up in Belfast in Protestant as well as Catholic areas.

The Protestant protests stopped after September 15, when the British government promised improvements in the conditions in Long Kesh. But

demonstrations continued daily in Catholic areas until October 2, when Long Kesh Governor Robert Truesdale announced that food parcels and visitors would be allowed.

The approach of the general elections scheduled for October 10 probably had an effect on the government's decision to make some concessions. But the main factor was undoubtedly the growing confidence and solidarity of the prisoners and the



Protestant terrorists. Their leaders had a 'long and surprisingly cordial' meeting with British cabinet member.

rapidity with which the protests spread.

Once the elections were over, the government may have thought that it was safe to tighten the screws again. The immediate cause of the October 15 prison rebellions is unclear, but the prisoners had previously announced that if the government sent troops against them, they would burn down the camp. So, it is possible that the rebellion was sparked by a large-scale attempt to clamp the lid back down by using troops to repress the prisoners.

A more general cause of the explosion may have been the reaction by the most oppressed section of the Catholic population to the results of the elections themselves. The apparent reinforcement of reactionary sentiment among the dominant proimperialist Protestant population seemed, in the context of the last year's political events, to make even more remote the possibility of any reforms to benefit the oppressed Catholic community or lessen the repression against it.

In the February 1973 general election, the United Ulster Unionist Coalition (UUUC, made up of the three Loyalist parties totally opposed to power-sharing—i.e., participation by

nationalists in the government—and the Sunningdale Agreement, which proposed such a solution) won eleven of the twelve Northern Ireland seats in Westminster.

In the October election this year, these right-wing Unionists received well over 40,000 more votes than in February 1973 and won ten of the twelve seats. (Of the seats they gained in February, they lost only Belfast West, where republicans and the Social Democratic and Labour party [SDLP, the bourgeois nationalist party] agreed on a single candidate and united the Catholic vote. This time, as last, a nationalist unity candidate won in the border county of Fermanagh, where there is a Catholic majority.)

Such a show of strength by the Loyalists, who are opposed to any concessions whatever to the Catholics and determined to maintain the Protestant ascendancy intact, cast a shadow in particular over the solution to the conflict that is now being proposed by the British government.

A New Constitution?

Elections are to be held next spring for a convention to write a constitution for Northern Ireland. The British government has suggested that with its encouragement the Protestant representatives can be persuaded to meet the Catholics halfway and thus make it possible for both parties to work out a mutually satisfactory agreement for reform. However, the October general elections indicated that even under a system of proportional representation, the reactionary Unionists will win a massive majority.

Furthermore, in the past period the British government has not convinced the Catholics that it really intends to persuade the Unionists to accept reforms.

The proposal for a constitutional convention came out of a White Paper published by the Labour government in July. It is filled with demagoguery about "participation by the whole community" and the need for "some form of power-sharing and partnership because no political system will survive, or be supported, unless there is widespread acceptance of it within the community."

However, the fact that the Loyalists got away with paralyzing the economic life of Northern Ireland in May to block any concessions to the Catholics made it clear from the start what the results of such a convention would be.

Furthermore, no proposals whatever are contained in the paper for satisfying any of the demands made by the Catholic community. Indeed, it says: "Inevitably, any less pressing legislative proposals for Northern Ireland, however desirable in themselves, will now have to be deferred, to the disadvantage of various groups in the Northern Ireland community."

As for the repressive apparatus, the White Paper makes it clear that the troops will remain until "law and order has been restored." In the context of national oppression that has been maintained for more than fifty years



IRA prisoners demonstrate in Maze prison near Belfast

on the basis of continually renewed reactionary terrorism against the section of the all-Ireland majority that finds itself in the British-ruled area, this means until the oppressed community is decisively defeated and beaten back into passivity.

Rise in Combativity

However, British imperialism could not look forward to such a victory in the near future even before the prison rebellions, and the response they triggered revealed a new rise in the combativity of the nationalist-minded people. So, the continuous presence of the army in Northern Ireland, massive jailings of ghetto inhabitants, and the Emergency Provisions Act have made up the most consistent element in British government policy. Yet these same authorities have been appealing to "the whole community" to support and cooperate with the police service. In fact, the White Paper makes such collaboration the condition for the withdrawal of troops and an end to internment.

The British government's appeals for popular support for the security forces has served only to provide an opportunity for the various Loyalist groups and paramilitary gangs to raise the demand for a "third force"—a Loyalist home guard that would be virtually a reborn "B" Specials, the justifiably hated Protestant militia that was abolished in 1970 as a result of the international outcry over the role it played in the 1969 pogroms.

The effect of granting the demand for a "third force" would only be to legitimize and extend a state of affairs that has been allowed to develop for the last few years. Since the abolition of the "B" Specials and the imposition of restraints on the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), a variety of paramilitary groups and goon squads have been organized in Protestant areas. The ultra-Loyalists argued that in view of this weakening of their "security" and the political "weakness" shown by talk of concessions



A new wave of raids and internment has been carried out against Northern Ireland's Catholic ghettos

Loyalist representatives of the Ulster Workers Council, which organized the economic shutdown in May; the Ulster Defence Association; the Ulster Volunteer Force; and other paramilitary groups. It was described by Robert Fisk in the August 8 *London Times* as "long and surprisingly cordial."

Perhaps the Loyalist leaders were given a hint of the plan for enlarging the security forces that Rees was to unveil in the Belfast parliament building on September 2.

The Rees Plan

The Rees plan for expansion of the security forces was welcomed as "a toe in the door" by Ian Paisley, leader of the Democratic Unionists, one of the Loyalist formations. As reported in the September 3 *London Times*, he said that at last the government had realized that "only Ulster men and Ulster women could win the war against the IRA." The Official Unionist party (another Loyalist faction) called the plan "a useful first instalment" and saw it as similar to ideas expressed at the Loyalist conference earlier in the year.

The proposal was to double the strength of the RUC reserve from 2,000 to 4,000, basing the reservists around their homes. The RUC itself was to be increased from 4,000 to 6,000. Membership of the part-time 7,500-strong Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) was to be increased considerably (at present less than 3 percent of its members are Catholics, and in some areas, such as County Fermanagh, the UDR contains hundreds of former members of the "B" Specials).

The "search wardens"—as the unarmed guards who check shoppers in the centre of Belfast are called—are to be increased by a further 100 and the system is to be extended to Derry, where searches are currently carried out by troops. Rees announced that 1,000 troops were to be withdrawn from Northern Ireland—but this part of the plan proved short-lived.

This clear move back toward restoring the full apparatus of the repressive caste system, together with the growing desperation of the Catho-

lic population, is putting more and more pressure on the bourgeois nationalist leaders committed to compromise with Britain. And they are transmitting this pressure to the main bourgeois nationalist institution on the island, the Dublin government. For example, Paddy Devlin, an SDLP assembly member for a ghetto constituency in Belfast, recently made a public attack on Dublin for its "abandonment" of the Northern minority and its continual appeasement of the Loyalist forces.

The weak bourgeois nationalist regime in the twenty-six counties badly needs some kind of compromise in the North that will defuse the anti-imperialist struggle there and prevent it from spreading. In return for promises of concessions from the British and the Unionists that would make such a settlement possible, it has made retreat after retreat from the historic principles of the national revolution that brought it into being and on which its authority is based.

The most blatant capitulations were Dublin's acceptance at Sunningdale that Northern Ireland is a de facto part of Britain until the majority of those living there wish otherwise, and its participation in North-South discussions of joint security actions against "terrorists."

Placating the Oppressors

The justification for this position was that the only hope for a united Ireland lies in rapprochement with the Protestants in the North, in a historic reconciliation between the victims of the English conquest—essentially the older Celtic population—and the colony planted to secure that conquest. For this, the argument goes, it is necessary not to frighten the Protestants or appear to be backing the Catholic minority against them.

Now the prison revolts and mass demonstrations of mid-October in Northern Ireland have made it clear that the conciliationist policy of Dublin and its allies in the North has not brought the country any nearer to peace. At the same time, the economic capitulation to imperialism in the twenty-six counties has not produced the promised prosperity either.

Unemployment has risen 24 percent

since the beginning of the year, and in the October 11 issue of *Hibernia*, Brendan Walsh predicted that the number of jobless may hit 90,000 by mid-winter. In an economy highly dependent on foreign trade, a balance of payments deficit of £300 million is expected this year. The annual rate of inflation for 1974 is estimated at 18 percent.

In these conditions, the basis of the deal between the Catholic nationalist moderates and British imperialism seems to be breaking down rapidly. The trend points to a convergence of sharper struggles against the imperialist structure in the North and a working-class revolt against the poverty to which imperialism condemns the island as a whole, that is, against capitalism as it exists in Ireland.

However, given the weakness of the country vis-à-vis the imperialist forces that impinge on it, whether this crisis leads to a revolution or simply to demoralization and more emigration, as similar crises have in the past, depends a great deal on the strength of international solidarity with the struggle of the Irish people.



Protesters in Belfast demand end to internment. British have responded by sending more troops.

to nationalists in the Belfast government, they needed their own private forces to "deal with" the republican movement and its supporters.

On August 7, Secretary of State Merlyn Rees held a meeting with sixteen

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On eve of Ford's visit

Opponents of dictatorship in Korea step up protests

By Peter Green

In the weeks preceding President Ford's visit to South Korea, scheduled for November 22, opponents of Park Chung Hee's dictatorship intensified their protests.

More than 2,000 Catholics attended a protest mass in Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral November 6, although riot police tried to bar entrance to the church. A strongly worded statement calling for the release of political prisoners and the scrapping of Park's constitution was read aloud. The statement, drawn up by a group representing about half of South Korea's 600 Catholic priests, also called for "reconsideration" of Ford's visit.

Striking journalists on South Korea's largest and most influential daily newspaper, *Dong A Ilbo*, forced the publishers to print a front-page statement October 25 demanding freedom of the press, withdrawal of police agents from newspaper offices, and an end to arbitrary arrests. Five of the six other major dailies also carried the statement, as did three commercial radio stations. The statement expressed "shame that we have not been reporting facts." The papers also published accounts of the antigovernment Catholic rally in Seoul the previous day.

The 180 reporters and editors of *Dong A Ilbo*, which has a national circulation of about 600,000, unanimously voted on October 24 to sit

One of the topics was the agitation in South Vietnam against President Thieu, including burning of newspapers by Vietnamese journalists. Park feared that South Koreans might draw inspiration from these protests. The other three prohibited topics were student demonstrations, demonstrations by religious groups, and a scandal concerning charcoal.

Half of South Korea's universities were shut down for up to two weeks in October in an attempt to curb growing student protests against the regime. Threatening direct intervention, the government ordered university administrations to take full responsibility for stopping demonstrations and disciplining dissenters. When twenty-six universities reopened October 28, ending their self-imposed recess, student protests flared up immediately.

A demonstration by 1,500 students from Korea University was blocked at the school gates by riot police. The students denounced "one-man dictatorship" and demanded greater freedom on and off campus. At Ehwa Women's University, riot police used tear gas to turn back 2,000 demonstrators. Many of the students wore black ribbons symbolizing the "death of democracy." Protesters carried signs and handed out leaflets condemning Park's martial-law constitution of 1972. Both universities were promptly shut down again by their administrations.

Students calling for an end to "dictatorial government" and the restoration of democracy demonstrated at Yonsei University on October 31 for the second day in a row. Police fired tear gas at nearly 2,000 students attempting to march on the campus. According to the November 1 *Washington Post*, four more colleges and universities were shut down in an attempt to thwart the latest wave of protests.

Stirrings of opposition to the Park dictatorship also surfaced at the annual convention of the 650,000-member Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU). On October 19, presidents of ten of the seventeen unions that make up the federation demanded the resignation of the FKTU chairman, Park stooge Pae Sang Ho. In the past, the FKTU has obediently supported the Park regime and gone along with the outlawing of strikes and the denial of workers' rights to bargain collectively.

Under permanent intimidation by the ubiquitous KCIA, delegates to the normally docile FKTU convention broke loose and moved a motion of no confidence in Pae. Before the assembly was abruptly closed, supporters of the motion extracted a vague promise from Pae that he would resign in the near future.

The role of the FKTU as a pliant tool of Park is not likely to change overnight. But as one delegate, quoted by the November 1 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, said after the convention: "Ten of the seventeen presidents at least stood up to the Government on the issue of Pae. It's not much, but it's ten more than spoke out last year."



PARK: Opposition to his dictatorship has now surfaced in labor movement.

in and refuse to put out a paper until their demands were met. The reporters of *Hankook Ilbo*, a major morning paper, also voted to suspend publication until the censorship was eased.

Confrontation between the press and the Park regime has been growing. The recent protests were sparked by the arrest and interrogation of editors from *Dong A Ilbo* and *Hankook Ilbo* by the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). The newspapers apparently violated a government directive banning stories on four topics.

World news notes

Victory against red-baiting in Australia

Victory is in sight in the campaign for reinstatement of thirty-one socialists who were summarily expelled from the Victorian Young Labor Association (YLA) last February without notice and without a trial. They were accused by the newly elected state executive of "supporting the Fourth International" and of putting forward "revolutionary ideas."

Delegates to the state conference of the Victorian branch of the Australian Labor party (ALP), meeting October 25-26, adopted a recommendation that those expelled should be "reinstated forthwith" by the YLA.

The decision reflects the overwhelming support won by the expelled socialists in their nine-month campaign to reverse the YLA state executive's undemocratic decree. Motions of support came from at least fifteen YLA branches and thirty ALP branches. More than 100 YLA members and 500 ALP members signed a petition demanding reinstatement. In addition, prominent Labor movement figures, including federal ministers Moss Cass and Kep Enderby, gave their support.

Blanco defends Spanish oppositionists

In an appeal issued in Stockholm, exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco has called for an international campaign in defense of two Spanish feminists, lawyer Lydia Falcon and psychoanalyst Genoveva Sastre.

Falcon, Sastre, their husbands, and some of their friends were arrested in connection with the September 13 bombing of the Bar Rolando, a Madrid café frequented by police. They are accused of having helped shelter members of the Basque nationalist organization ETA who allegedly carried out the bombing. The police also charged them with membership in the Communist party.

The Swedish section of Amnesty International, which is circulating Blanco's appeal, issued a statement of its own pointing out the flimsiness of the police charges. "It is a well-known fact," said the statement, "that all the arrested belong to the Spanish opposition. Their homes—continually watched by the police—have been natural meeting places for many members of the Leftist opposition. It is therefore not very probable that anyone should try to hide there, trying to escape the police."

The ETA itself denounced the bombing as the work of "ultrafascist grouplets" closely linked to the police. In his appeal, Hugo Blanco called attention to reports that a notice was circulated among Madrid police, warning them against entering the Bar Rolando the day of the bombing.

Chile junta frees Carmen Castillo

Carmen Castillo has been released by the Chilean junta and granted asylum in Britain. Castillo, a member of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was captured October 5 after a shootout with junta troops that resulted in the death of MIR leader Miguel Enríquez. She was seriously wounded in the shooting.

The U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners credits her rapid release to the immediate international protest in her behalf.

Unions hit Canadian support to Chile

Canadian trade unions, churches, and student organizations have issued a sharp denunciation of the Trudeau government's support of the Chile junta.

The statement was signed by the Canadian Labour Congress, which is affiliated with the U. S. labor federation, the AFL-CIO; the Québec-based Confederation of National Trade Unions; the Canadian Council of Churches, and the Lutheran, Presbyterian, Anglican, and United churches; OXFAM; Amnesty International; and university student organizations.

"... Canada has been virtually silent regarding the total suppression of democratic institutions in Chile, the systematic reign of terror, mockery of justice and brutality which has characterized the rule of the military junta," the brief stated.

The statement noted that the Canadian government and business participated in international financial institutions that boycotted the Allende government in order to undermine the Chilean economy and prepare the overthrow of the Popular Unity regime. Ottawa's Export Development Corporation, which provides credit to foreign buyers of Canadian products, cut off export credit to Chile in November 1971, almost two years before the coup.

Since the September 1973 coup, the statement observed, "several Canadian banks have already participated in multimillion dollar loans to the junta."

The statement exposed the fraudulent nature of Ottawa's promise that the procedure for permitting the entry of refugees from Chile would be speeded up on an "emergency" basis. Prospective immigrants from Chile were given special treatment for only two months, from December 1973 to February 1974. Since the coup, Canada has admitted fewer than 600 Chileans with refugee status."

Without really trying

How to beat high prices and hard times

By FRANK LOVELL

"Wan iv th' sthrangest things about life is that th' poor, who need th' money th' most, ar-re th' very wans that niver have it."

—Mr. Dooley on "The Pursuit of Riches"

The economic crisis and the social storm that is brewing disturbs the complacency of the trade-union bureaucracy. Even AFL-CIO President George Meany says something has got to be done.

At the Steelworkers convention in Atlantic City earlier this fall Meany put forth the notion that the government could fight inflation by selling "Liberty Bonds" as it did in World Wars I and II. "Right now," he said, "the bonds our members can afford to purchase—the \$25, \$50, and \$100 denominations—pay a very low rate of interest when compared with 9 percent to 10 percent paid to those who can invest in \$10,000 denominations."

Meany wants the government to split the difference and sell small-denomination bonds that pay 7 or 8 percent interest. "The response would be tremendous," he thinks. "The average American worker would be able to show his faith in his country, earn a respectable return on his investment, and, at the same time, help the government lower the cost of its debt service."

This is surely the most novel solution to the economic crisis that has yet been proposed by anyone, including the "experts." It is surprising that no one else ever thought of this. It obviously will help everyone, especially those who are working part-time. They can supplement their income simply by clipping coupons, and when the bonds mature in 15 or 20 years they will have plenty for retirement and won't have to depend on Social Security and the meager Steelworkers pension.

This special series ought to be called "Meany Liberty Bonds" to commemorate the name of the man who conceived the idea. It could set the workers free if handled right. All they have to do is buy enough bonds, then they will have no need to worry about unemployment when layoffs hit the steel mills.

It sounds like such a good idea that the whole project is in danger of being overrun by a much simpler application. As soon as the word gets around there is bound to be a popular movement among all the workers in every factory and mine and mill in this country to pool their resources and invest in the \$10,000 denominations that pay higher interest rates. These have the additional advantage of being available. So why wait for the new bond series?

The only disadvantage is that those who want to pool their \$25 or \$100 contributions would need to elect someone to keep accounts and divide the dividends equitably. Perhaps that could be done by regularly elected union officials or by the local credit union. If it were all handled in this way, the workers could express their patriotism by borrow-



Meany (left) at poolside: thinks workers should clip coupons to save economy.

ing from the union treasury or by taking a loan from the credit union. These loans could be secured by signing vouchers of patriotism.

This system of direct union involvement is essential to the whole scheme—even under the more complicated and less lucrative Meany plan—because full-time workers who earn an average \$5 an hour have nothing left from the weekly paycheck to put into this patriotic project. As it is they have to borrow just to live, and they can simply borrow a little more for the bonds.

The unemployed, who ought to be the most patriotic of all, could take out even bigger loans than others because their need is greater, but after they start clipping coupons they would not need unemployment relief or food stamps or anything like that. This is probably the most commendable feature of the whole plan. It could eliminate unemployment insurance, Social Security, welfare, and all those costly frills. The government could show a great savings on these items, and that ought to help drive down the national debt.

All of these possibilities of the Meany plan have not yet got back to him, but when they do he will probably want to reconsider some of his other proposals in connection with it. At a recent news conference, when a reporter asked Meany how to cut this year's \$300-billion federal budget, he had a ready answer: "the debt service in that budget."

"Servicing it will be perhaps \$7-, \$8-, or \$9-billion higher than it was two or three years ago," Meany said. "... The government used to get loans at 4 percent—something like that—that are up to 9 percent now. ..." He is looking for some "system by which these great patriotic bankers

would give Uncle Sam some of their money at a reasonable rate."

If all of us patriots get together we can take a vote and decide whether we want to be bankers or workers. But if the workers vote to become bankers it looks as if the interest rates will have to stay high, otherwise the cut-rate Meany Liberty Bonds won't solve any of our problems.

There is another alternative. We could vote for a moratorium on the national debt and stop paying interest altogether for the good of the country. That would be a huge saving right away.

It is estimated that the interest on the national debt will cost the taxpayers more than \$31.5-billion this fiscal year. It is the second-largest item in the budget, more than is spent on schools or hospitals or housing or welfare or anything like that.

So if this vast amount that goes out every year were distributed among all us bankers, then we would be able to buy things we need, and that would create jobs and relieve the unemployment problem.

One trouble with this is that with all the unemployed clipping coupons it might be hard to find anyone willing to work. Still it would be better than the way things are now with only a few of the big bankers getting all that \$31.5-billion.

When all is considered it is indisputable that the best way to cut a lot of fat out of the national budget is to declare a moratorium on all interest payments. It would probably work out better than the Meany plan because it is direct and would eliminate a lot of complicated bookkeeping. It could be done quickly.

There still remains the problem of high prices and no work. That could possibly be solved if we voted to take over all the money that is being spent for the military. This is the largest single item in the national budget, about \$100-billion this year. It is a curious thing that George Meany didn't think of this when the reporters asked him how to cut the budget, but maybe if we left it in we could use it for other purposes. Just think what could be done with that much money.

We can't do much now about all the military money that has been spent during the past years, because they blew it away. But right now we could take the \$100-billion for this year and put it to good use for building homes, schools, hospitals, and all the other things we need. That would put everybody to work for sure.

It is estimated by economists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that every \$1-billion transferred from "defense" to civilian programs creates 6,436 jobs more than are eliminated. These are all jobs that could produce things to use, unlike working for the Army. So that ought to help bring prices down.

The sad part of this is that it means voting down the Meany plan for everyone to become a banker, and it remains to be seen how the workers will go.

Black Vietnam vets hit hard by recession

By NORMAN OLIVER

"I'm not asking for the world. I'm not asking for welfare. I just want a good job so I can have money to pay the rent and buy some food," explained Carl Snipe. Snipe, one of this country's 6.8 million Vietnam veterans, spends a lot of time these days waiting in line at the Veterans Administration (VA) assistance center in Brooklyn.

Snipe, who is Black, was discharged from the Army in November 1972 and hasn't had much luck getting a job. "I spent one-and-a-half years in this center," Snipe recalled. "All they ever did was give me carfare home."

He finally got a job as a company security guard, but was only making \$111 for a six-day week. Recently he injured his leg while on the job and now is back at the VA center.

However, like the other Black veterans who spoke with *The Militant* at the center, Snipe didn't think that the VA would be much help. "I've been sitting here since eight this morning. I know I'll be sitting here six or seven hours and I'll go back to one of those offices and the dude will

say, 'Sorry, can't help you.'"

"It's enough to make you lose faith in the system. I mean, soon these big supermarket chains are going to have to protect their stores with machine guns. People have got to eat, and money doesn't mean anything if your belly is empty."

The massive layoffs and other hardships of the current economic crisis bear down particularly hard on veterans—especially the younger veterans. In the first half of 1974, recently discharged veterans had an unemployment rate of nearly 10 percent, well above the 6 percent national figure.

All veterans have it bad, but Black vets have it the worst. According to the government, in 1973 unemployment for Black Vietnam veterans of the ages 20 through 24 was 13.5 percent, compared with 8.3 percent among white veterans of the same age. With the economic downturn in 1974, the gap between Black and white has widened.

What is the government doing about this situation?

At a Veterans' Day ceremony on

Oct. 28, President Ford announced that he had ordered federal agencies to hire 70,000 unemployed Vietnam veterans. However, the government itself admits to there being 302,000



GIs in Vietnam. Cannon fodder for U.S. military, Blacks return home to find no jobs.

unemployed Vietnam veterans. Some veterans groups say the figure is closer to one million. In any case, the government figure is low since it ignores the many veterans who have given up even looking for work.

Even when the Vietnam-era veteran is able to find work it's often at wages too low to provide a decent standard of living. Another Black veteran who spoke with *The Militant*, Richard Hampton, finds himself in that situation.

Discharged from the Army in 1970, Hampton has had a job ever since. "But it don't pay nothin'," he said, "\$199 every two weeks. I've got a wife and two infants to take care of. My rent alone is \$180 a month—that doesn't even count the other bills."

Hampton had been to the VA center a couple of times before to try to convince them that he needed financial assistance. He was told he made too much money to get aid.

"I make too much. Ain't that something?" Hampton said.

Another problem facing veterans—one that is becoming acute because

Continued on page 26

Support grows for Chicago SWP ballot rights

By PATRICIA GROGAN

CHICAGO—Prominent supporters of civil liberties in Chicago have signed a statement defending the right of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, to appear on the ballot in the April election.

The statement condemns the board of elections for its "undemocratic actions" in denying ballot status to independent candidates in previous elections.

It was read at a news conference Nov. 14 by Richard Rubenstein, a professor at Roosevelt University and chairperson of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws in Chicago.

The statement has been signed by State Representative Leland Rayson; Democratic mayoral candidate E. Duke McNeil; attorneys Judith Lonquist and Val Klink; Richard Turkington, professor of law at DePaul University; José "Cha Cha" Jiménez, candidate for alderman in the 46th ward; and others.

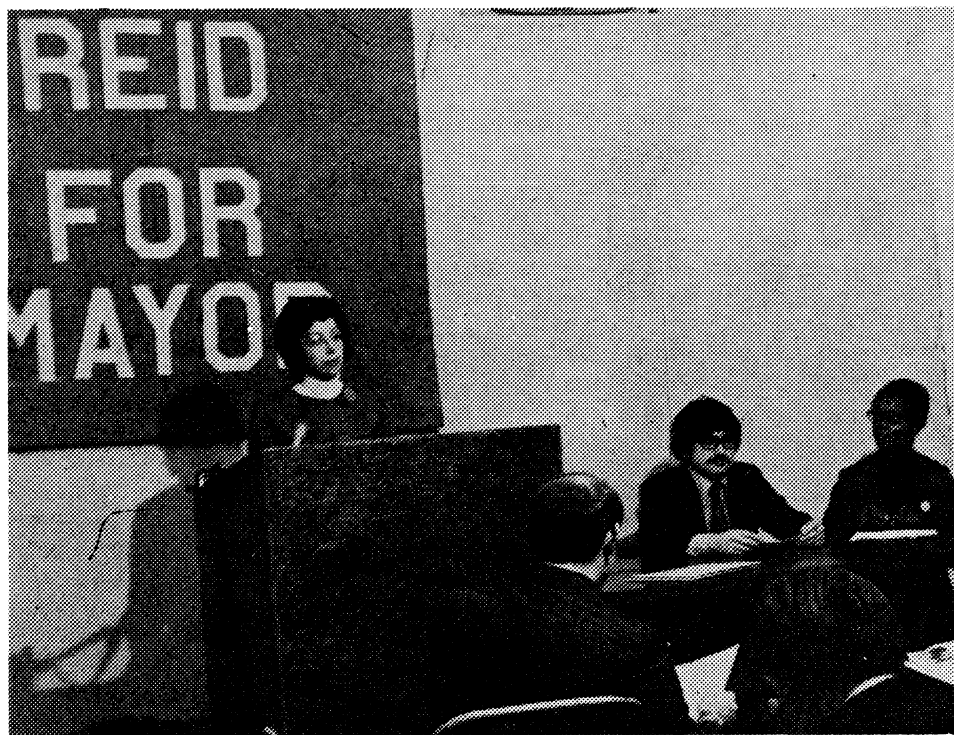
The machine of Democratic Mayor Richard Daley has up until now prevented any independent candidate from getting ballot status in the local elections.

The number of petition signatures required for independent candidates is outrageously high—between 5 and 8 percent of the total Chicago vote in the previous general election.

Once the signatures are collected, there is no guarantee that a candidate will be on the ballot, since the Daley machine can always declare them "invalid."

At the news conference Reid said she felt certain that her supporters would be successful in collecting the 65,000-70,000 signatures required.

"If they try to use some illegal maneuver to keep us off, we'll fight them all the way," she said. "We have every intention of becoming the first party to put an end to Boss Daley's tradition



Militant/Bruce Bloy

News conference announcing Willie Mae Reid campaign and civil libertarians' backing of her right to ballot status. Reid is at right.

of keeping independent parties off the ballot."

Already, in less than two weeks, supporters of the Reid campaign have collected 27,523 signatures.

On Saturday, Nov. 16, an especially large mobilization of campaign supporters signed up more than 10,000 people, despite cold and rainy weather.

In addition to the petitioning, this has been an active week for the Reid campaign. Immediately after the news conference, campaign supporters attended a demonstration called by the Arab-American Congress in support of the Palestinian struggle.

Reid was introduced as one of the few candidates who has not sided against the Arabs. She pledged the

SWP's continued support to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Later that evening campaign supporters participated in a demonstration against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who was speaking at a fund-raising dinner for the University of Chicago. The action was sponsored by a broad coalition of groups, including Chicago Area Group on Latin America, Greek Student Association, the Chicago Peace Council, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and New American Movement. It focused on Kissinger's role in Chile and Cyprus.

On Saturday evening, after a full

day of petitioning, 110 campaign supporters gathered to hear a report by Fred Halstead on the racist campaign in Boston against school desegregation.

Halstead, a longtime activist in civil rights, trade-union, and antiwar struggles, recently spent several weeks in Boston reporting on the busing crisis for *The Militant*. Halstead urged support for the Dec. 14 Freedom March in Boston, stressing the need to organize as many buses as possible from Chicago to Boston for the demonstration.

On Nov. 17 Reid addressed 200 members of the Independent Precinct Organization (IPO), a liberal group that has generally supported anti-Daley Democrats and liberal Republicans.

Other mayoral candidates who came to the meeting included William Singer, a white liberal, and Black candidate E. Duke McNeil. Both are running for the Democratic nomination. Three other announced candidates who were invited failed to appear.

In her remarks Reid stressed the importance of giving support to the Dec. 14 demonstration in Boston. The IPO voted to endorse Singer for mayor. Several IPO members said they would support Reid if Daley defeats Singer in the Democratic primary. Daley has not yet announced whether he will seek a sixth term.

The Willie Mae Reid campaign committee will sponsor a Thanksgiving weekend of activity that will include talks by Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes at 7:30 p.m. on Nov. 29 and 30 at the campaign headquarters, with petitioning during the day.

For more information or to help with petitioning, come to the campaign headquarters at 428 S. Wabash Ave., or call (312) 939-0756.

Behind Ohio election upset: lesson for unions

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—The Ohio election returns brought many surprises. They also carried some warnings for the labor movement in this highly industrialized state.

In a last-minute upset, Democratic incumbent Governor John Gilligan lost to former Republican governor James Rhodes by a mere 13,000 votes.

Gilligan was the political darling of the Ohio union officials, who poured record amounts of cash into the effort to reelect the "pro-labor" governor.

A Gilligan victory had seemed so inevitable that Rhodes made an of-

ficial concession speech when early returns showed Gilligan well ahead.

Analysts trying to fathom the reasons for the upset have been unable to ignore the significant vote cast for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. Even the *New York Times's* Nov. 17 postmortem on Gilligan had to point out:

"A left-wing protest by Nancy Brown Lazar of Cleveland, a member of the Socialist Workers party, drew nearly 100,000 votes, more than seven times the margin of difference between the major candidates."

Brown received 97,502 votes, or 3.1 percent of the vote for governor. Herman Kirsch, SWP candidate for lieu-

tenant governor, received 114,449 votes, or 3.9 percent.

Both Brown and Kirsch were listed on the ballot as "independents" because of Ohio's restrictive election laws, which effectively exclude smaller parties from ballot status. It is evident that their high totals reflect mainly protest votes by those who couldn't stomach either Gilligan or Rhodes, rather than votes deliberately cast for the SWP.

But it is also unquestionable that many thousands of Ohio voters were aware of what Brown and Kirsch stood for, because of their active campaigning throughout the state and their wide media coverage.

Disillusionment with the capitalist parties was also signaled by the meager turnout of only 38 percent. After listening to the Democratic and Republican candidates, most voters decided to sit this one out.

The election results came as a bitter disappointment to the union bureaucrats, but their initial reaction suggests they will be blind to the lessons of their defeat. John Yates, head of the political arm of the United Auto Workers, ruefully stated, "I don't think labor let us down, I think Governor Gilligan and his campaign committee let us down."

According to Yates, "We raised nine kinds of hell with them to get off their backsides and start raising issues. They closed their eyes and refused to recognize where the issues were at."

But the Democratic (and Republican) office seekers shunned discussion

of issues such as inflation and unemployment for very sound reasons. The only answers they propose—more sacrifices by workers—do not prompt enthusiasm or win votes.

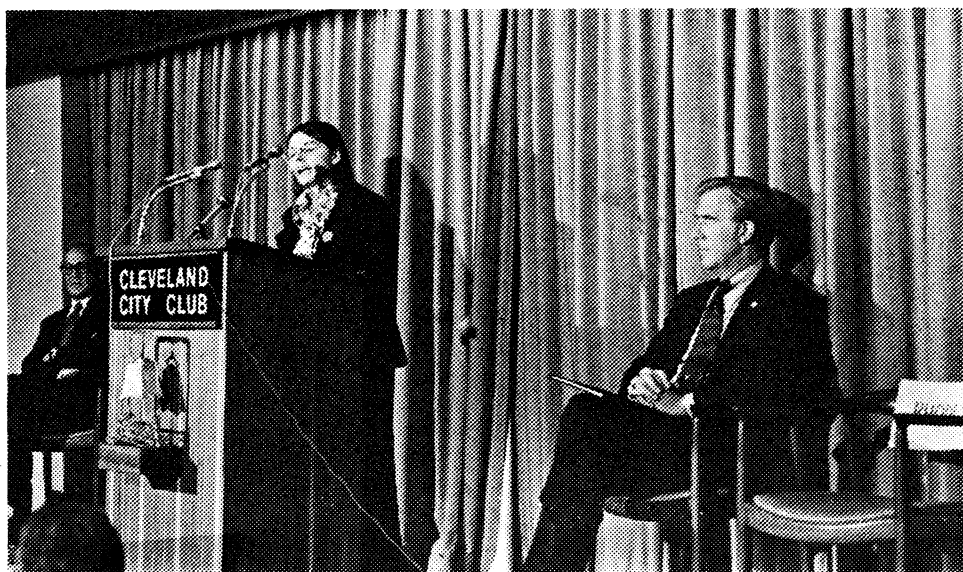
Nor could Gilligan's record—which includes imposing a state income tax, calling out the National Guard against the independent truckers' protest last winter, and doing nothing to stop the mounting layoffs in the state—inspire many working people to pull the lever for him.

If the unions want the issues raised and genuinely pro-labor solutions posed, they will have to abandon their coalition with the Democratic Party and launch an independent political party of labor.

The old coalition, as the election results showed, is being held together only at the top. The union bureaucracy can supply money, mailings, and moral support for its "friends," but it is finding it harder and harder to mobilize the union membership to vote Democratic.

The Ohio election results show both the impotence of the old strategy and the potential for a new road. The labor movement has the power and the organization to launch independent political action. Such a move would generate great enthusiasm in the union ranks, who now largely ignore union endorsements. It would rally support from all the oppressed.

Most important, it would be a step toward winning political power for the working class and reorganizing society to meet the needs of working people.



Militant/Janice Cline

SWP candidate Nancy Brown debates Gilligan (right) in final days of campaign. Empty chair at far right is for Rhodes, who refused to debate.

Texas Raza Unida leader elected as judge

By HARRY RING

Wealthy Anglos in the Crystal City, Tex., area, who have been accustomed to having things their own way, were quite disturbed by the growing political power won by La Raza Unida Party during the past five years. Now, as a result of the county elections, they have even more to be upset about.

In the Nov. 5 elections, La Raza Unida won a majority on the five-member Zavala County board of commissioners. They also elected the county clerk, who is secretary to the commissioners; the district clerk, who is secretary to the district judge; and the county treasurer.

In another important development, José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City party, was elected district judge in a close race with an Anglo (about 1,900 to 1,700).

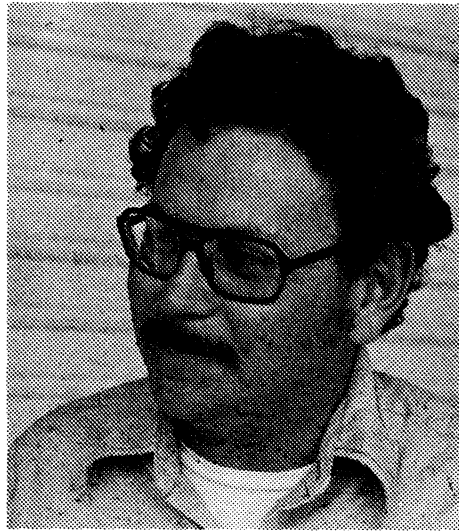
In Texas, county judges have unusually wide powers, and if Gutiérrez is able to carry through some of the plans he has mapped out it could quickly lead to a taut political situation.

I interviewed Gutiérrez in Crystal City a few days before the election, and talked with him by phone after the returns were in. The main thing he wants to do as judge, he said, is use the power of his office to make farm land available for operation by the county.

Most of the Chicanos in the Crystal City area are migrant farm workers and have to spend a large part of the year following the crops west and north.

Yet the Crystal City area itself is rich, productive farm country.

According to Gutiérrez, there may be nearly a million acres of farm



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ: Wants land used to provide jobs for people of Crystal City area.

land in Zavala county. He said that 60 percent of the nation's onions are grown there and 90 percent of the spinach. Other big crops include green beans, carrots, potatoes, cabbage, and sugar beets.

Del Monte owns land and has a big processing plant there.

"There's no reason," Gutiérrez said, "why we have to go 2,000 miles to pick beets in Oregon, potatoes in Idaho, or fruit in California. We can do that right here."

There are several ways in which the county can obtain land for farming, he explained. To begin with, most of the big land holdings are now assessed way below their value. The first thing he will do as judge is assemble a team of tax assessors to review all assessments. For small farm-

ers, he said, this will probably bring lower taxes. But not for the big ones.

"I would guess—and I'm just guessing, I don't have the statistic yet—that on the basis of a reassessment, Del Monte will be paying five times as much in taxes on its land as it's paying now," he said.

With such big holdings assessed at a rate closer to their real value, he continued, some ranchers will be ready to sell or lease some of their land to the county. In other cases, Gutiérrez said, the right of eminent domain will be invoked to obtain decent land that can be used to provide work for the people of the area.

"Twenty-six *gringos* own 87 percent of the land in this county," he said. "We think this is against the public welfare. Using arguments couched in the language of eminent domain, we can take some of that land away for public welfare."

With the big farms in the area highly mechanized, not much work is now provided in the fields. But there is a good amount of usable land not in production.

Is La Raza Unida aiming to take over that entire area of nearly a million acres, I asked.

"Eventually," Gutiérrez responded. "But I'll settle for 10,000 or 20,000 acres the first year."

The Raza Unida administration will need help in organizing and administering the land it acquires, he said. "All of us know how to hoe and weed, pick certain crops. But we don't know management or marketing. We'll have to find people to come in and help us."

Taking over land in this way was a central theme of Gutiérrez's campaign. How did people respond to it, I asked.

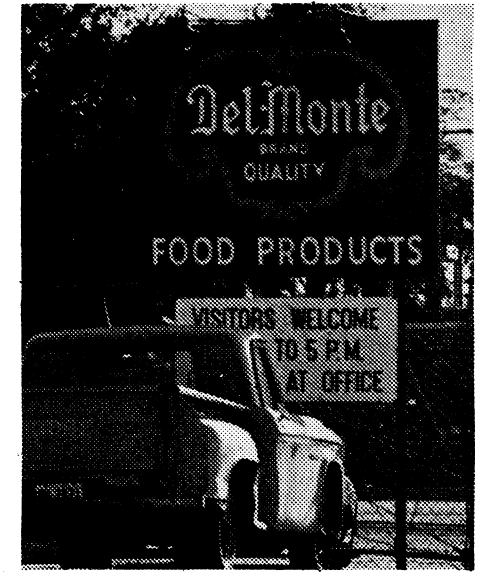
"They're tickled pink," he said. "Some of them think I'm crazy and that it can't be done, it won't work. But they'd sure like to believe it will work."

This will create quite a storm, won't it?

"Among the people we take it from, sure. But it will be an even bigger storm among those who get it. We're talking about wages and a share of the profits."

Discussing the extensive powers of a district judge, Gutiérrez said the salary is \$6,600 a year. "No one in his right mind is going to run for the job to make a living. The judge has always been a retired rancher who's been there to protect the interests of the controlling group—the ranchers."

As judge, he said, it will be his job to turn that situation around.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Del Monte may find its taxes up 500 percent.

Teamster officials scrap fake 'organizing drive'

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The Teamsters union has abandoned even the pretense of conducting a legitimate organizing drive among farm workers.

On Nov. 5, Teamster officials abruptly fired 26 out of 75 staff members of "Local 1973," their farm unit headquartered in Salinas.

Those fired included Cono Macias, token Chicano head of the so-called organizing drive the Teamsters had claimed to be carrying on. Macias is a former ranch supervisor and, before taking the job with the Teamsters, was twice involved in grower-financed company unions set up to

fight the United Farm Workers (UFW).

The now-embittered Macias told reporters that the Teamsters had made it clear that "they were not going to let any goddamn Mexican take over their project."

He said "Local 1973" had fallen into "chaos" and that the Teamster officials "plan to disband the local" and incorporate it into a larger unit.

The Teamsters' story was given out by a press agent who said, "Rather than carry on any massive organizing campaign around the state, we want to sell the services of the Teamsters to those we already have under contract. . . ." (He didn't say if he

was referring to the workers or the bosses.)

He said the organizing staff had been bounced to make the farm local "self-sustaining." He estimated it has about 19,000 members at any one time, with a peak of 50,000 during harvesting. All pay \$8 a month dues.

"Local 1973" has never held a membership meeting or elected officers. David Castro, its appointed secretary-treasurer, has said there will not be elections for another two years because he might not win before then.

Termination of the "organizing drive"—which was almost completely a public relations creation—confirms the real role of the Teamsters in the

fields. They are nothing more than hired agents of the growers in their drive to smash the United Farm Workers.

The only agricultural contracts held by the Teamsters are the sweetheart agreements signed by growers to avoid signing legitimate pacts with the UFW.

Increasingly discredited, the Teamster bureaucrats began peddling the story that they were now engaged in a genuine organizing drive. They were aided in this effort by the capitalist media, which obligingly reported the Teamsters' public relations claims as fact.

Continued on page 26

Judge reverses ban on UFW lawsuits

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A Riverside County judge has been forced to reverse his own order that barred the United Farm Workers union (UFW) from suing the Teamsters union and California growers in any state or federal court in California.

Judge Frederick Metheny's Oct. 30 order had prohibited the UFW from filing any future lawsuits based on allegations of violence, personal injury, interference with elections, or conspiracy with the growers. Metheny also froze some 35-40 suits already in progress.

The order even barred the union from talking to the news media about the contents of any legal complaints!

Metheny's abrupt reversal on Nov. 13 came after strong protests by civil libertarians. Among those asserting that the order was an unprecedented attack on the constitutional right to sue was the Los Angeles chapter of

Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalists society.

The day before Metheny dissolved the order, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California (ACLU), together with the UFW, defied the injunction by filing another suit against the Teamsters and holding a news conference to announce it.

This suit seeks damages for the campaign of intimidation in the Coachella Valley in 1973 by Teamster-hired goons, as well as a permanent injunction against such attacks in the future.

Joining in the suit were a number of law professors from UCLA and the University of Southern California, the ACLU of Northern California, and the Newspaper Guild.

Metheny's original order had come in response to a request by Teamsters union attorneys. Defending the request in court was the Washington,

D.C., law firm of Dickstein and Shapiro, the former firm of Charles "I'd-walk-over-my-grandmother-to-reelect-the-president" Colson.

The lawyers argued that the Teamsters union was receiving bad publicity from lawsuits that described Teamster employees as "thugs" and "goons," and Teamster contracts with growers as "sweetheart deals."

In a telephone interview, ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum characterized Metheny's order as displaying "thorough disdain for the right to have access to the courts."

The Teamster bureaucrats' attempt to block UFW lawsuits "is really an act of desperation," Rosenbaum continued.

It displays "a real concern that those suits would show that they have in fact been violating all the labor codes and all the civil rights statutes which are the basis of the allegations."

Urge support to Boston protest

YSA tours campuses building convention

By LIZ JAYKO

ST. LOUIS—On Nov. 4 Maceo Dixon, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, began a tour of Missouri, Kansas, and Southern Illinois, speaking to young people about socialism and inviting them to attend the 14th National Convention of the YSA, to be held here Dec. 28-Jan. 1.

Dixon is focusing his speeches on the school crisis in Boston and the need to organize support for the Boston Black community in its struggle to end the racist violence against Black students.

The entire YSA has mobilized to help win broad support for the Dec. 14 national march called by the Emer-

gency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism.

In the first 10 days of his tour, Dixon spoke to 500 people at seven campuses. At the University of Missouri at Columbia, Black students have been involved in a struggle against the racist policies of the administration. Dixon spoke to a meeting of 100 sponsored by the Legion of Black Collegians.

Expressing his solidarity with the Black students' struggle, he invited those present to attend the YSA convention, where the Black liberation struggle and the fight against racism will be a major topic of discussion.

On Nov. 14 Dixon addressed a rally

of 150 at Southern Illinois University in Edwardsville sponsored by the Black Student Association (BSA). The rally was called to protest attempts by the administration to cut off the bus service used by virtually all of the school's 900 Black students. The buses bring them to the campus from Alston and East St. Louis.

The administration recently informed students that this bus service would be discontinued because of lack of funds. But at the same time the administration announced the purchase of a \$13,000 bus to transport students to the campus from the Tower Lake apartment complex. All the students living at this complex are white.

Dixon pledged the YSA's active support in building the demonstration called by the BSA for Dec. 4 to protest this racist action.

On Nov. 11 Dixon held a news conference in Columbia, Mo. There he discussed the December YSA convention and explained the recent motion filed by the YSA for an injunction to prohibit the FBI from spying on the convention.

Articles on the YSA and its challenge to the FBI have appeared in campus and local press throughout Missouri as a result of the first week of the Dixon tour. More than 100 people have expressed interest in attending classes on socialism as well as the convention itself. Twelve people have asked to join the YSA in the St. Louis area.

In addition to introducing many new people to socialist ideas, Dixon has spoken with hundreds of students about organizing for the Dec. 14 national demonstration against racist violence in Boston.

If you are interested in the YSA and its coming convention, send in the coupon below.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

YSA leader Maceo Dixon

FBI 'riding herd' on radicals

The following editorial was printed in the Oct. 31 issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

After receiving information that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was planning to maintain surveillance over its convention in St. Louis in December, the Young Socialist Alliance has gone into federal court in New York to seek an injunction to bar the agency from spying on its meetings. Since the FBI has a record of spying on political meetings (even such innocuous ones as the Earth Day assembly in Washington in 1970), the fears of the Young Socialist Alliance hardly seem unwarranted.

The FBI seems to have assumed the role of riding herd on radical political organizations, particularly those of the left. But when challenged in court specific cases in which its information against defen-

dants may have been gathered by surveillance, the agency has dropped charges rather than reveal its suspected illegal activity. In the Watergate era in which illegal harassment tactics by White House plumbers were used against a major party and then covered up, the nation should have learned a lesson.

If the FBI has information that participants in a meeting have committed a crime or are about to commit one, the agency's intrusion might be justified. But spying on a political meeting, no matter how unpopular the views of its members, is not the function of a police organization in a democracy—as long as the political group is obeying the law and as long as the First Amendment guarantees "freedom of speech" and "the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

Now you see it, now you don't

Army squirms over 'subversive list' issue

By CONNIE PIPER

"My god, you've really caught the Army in a goof!" exclaimed Army General Counsel Richard Kearney.

He was referring to the Army's predicament in being caught using the attorney general's "subversive list" more than five months after the list was supposedly officially abolished.

Kearney provided this non-explanation over the phone in response to questions from Catherine Perkus of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The PRDF is supporting a suit, filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, that seeks a permanent injunction against the use of the attorney general's list and other illegal government harassment of socialists.

The government's continuing use of the list was exposed recently when YSA leader Steven Wattenmaker released to the press a letter to him dated Oct. 18 from the Army Reserves. It threatened to discharge him from the Reserves on the grounds of his membership in the YSA, which the letter claimed "is controlled and dominated by the Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States."

The Army squirmed for three days after being confronted with the Wat-

tenmaker letter by *New York Times* correspondent John Finney and other reporters.

On Nov. 11, the Pentagon flatly denied that the Army still uses the list. The next day, the Army admitted



Militant/Howard Petrick

Steven Wattenmaker (front left) on 1972 antiwar demonstration in Austin, Tex., when he was active-duty GI.

that it was still using the list but refused to explain why. On Nov. 14 it finally issued what Kearney called "our definitive statement."

In this pronouncement Secretary of the Army Howard Calloway said that "reference to the attorney general's list in the letter to Pfc. Wattenmaker was in error. . . ."

The statement contended, "However, the Army has an obligation to discharge those whose retention in any capacity is contrary to the best interests of national security."

Calloway told Finney, "I have put a hold on the action against Wattenmaker." Army lawyer Kearney explained that this means "Wattenmaker's case is being reviewed apart from the question of the attorney general's list."

Wattenmaker, a national committee member of the YSA, stated in response: "The Army's policy obviously hasn't changed. It's still the government's intention to try to portray the YSA, SWP, and other radical groups as illegal and 'subversive.'"

"They're in a real bind now, though. They can't rely any more on merely citing that witch-hunting list. Now they have to come up with specific proof that somehow my remaining in the Reserves endangers 'national security.' And of course that will be im-

possible," he added.

Wattenmaker concluded, "The Army knows that the SWP and YSA are completely lawful organizations. There isn't the slightest shred of evidence to the contrary."

Up to now the Army's use of the attorney general's list has been based on Army Regulation No. 604-10. That regulation cites the list and several other criteria for rejecting or discharging individuals "when retention or acceptance into the Army is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

According to the Army statement, "Administrative steps to remove reference to the list in AR 604-10 . . . have not yet been accomplished. Measures to do so are being expedited."

The Army has already had plenty of time to "remove reference to the list." It was on June 4, 1974, when ex-president Nixon issued the executive order abolishing the 27-year-old list and directing that it "shall not be used for any purpose."

Wattenmaker has demanded that the Army convene a "Field Board of Inquiry" to consider his challenge to the blacklisting threats against him. Attorney David Kairys of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is representing him.

...socialists demand: open all FBI files!

Continued from back page

suit—even in the phrases used—is unmistakable."

Camejo called the Justice Department report "a cover-up," saying, "We can prove that this disruption never ended in 1971, as Saxbe claims." He presented reporters with documentation of 50 specific cases of harassment of the socialists since 1971.

He pointed in addition to the case of Lori Paton, who was harassed by the FBI in 1973 simply for writing for information about the SWP for a school paper.

Jude Coren of the Young Socialist Alliance pointed to another example of ongoing FBI harassment. She told how the YSA had found out about FBI plans to spy on its upcoming national convention.

"This is more proof," she stated, "that the government continues its harassment of my organization, trying to scare young people away by making the YSA seem illegal."

Camejo drew attention to the methods used by the FBI to try to discredit candidates for public office associated with the blacklisted groups.

"This interference in the electoral system violates the civil liberties not only of the people running for office, but of the public at large," he declared.

The FBI's tactics included such things as "mailing an anonymous letter to a member of a group who was a mayoralty candidate in order to create distrust toward his comrades," and furnishing "background" material on a candidate, "including arrests and questionable marital status," to news media.

"This is the first time," Camejo said, "that we have an admission that the FBI itself—not only Nixon's plumbers—is up to its neck in Watergate-style 'dirty tricks' designed to influence elections."

COINTELPRO exposed

The COINTELPRO operations were first exposed in FBI secret papers taken from an FBI office in Media, Pa., in 1971. Saxbe says the COINTELPRO was "compromised" when these memos were let out for the American people to see.

In the fall of 1973 the FBI was forced to release further documents relating to COINTELPRO in response to a suit under the Freedom of Information Act by NBC reporter Carl Stern.

One of these documents, the one of officially terminating COINTELPRO in 1971, explains that the reason for discontinuance was "to afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations."

"This memo makes clear," Camejo told reporters, "that the 'techniques' and 'operations' would continue. The COINTELPROs were ended for the purposes of public relations, not because the FBI thought there was anything wrong with trying to wreck legal political organizations."

Early this year, the SWP and YSA suit forced the disclosure of additional documents on the COINTELPRO "SWP Disruption Program." Further requests for documents by the SWP and YSA suit were due to be answered by the government on Nov. 18, the deadline set by a federal court.

The Nov. 18 Justice Department report refers to requests "for numerous other documents relating to these FBI COINTELPRO activities," and says, "This paper is in response to those requests."

But the report is a whitewash from beginning to end. In his response Camejo accused Attorney General Saxbe of obstruction of justice for withholding full information on the illegal activities of the FBI referred to in the report.

"For example, they refuse to name what candidates they tried to discredit," he said. "They admit they did it, but refuse to give the facts about who did it, who authorized it, and when it happened."

He noted that the admissions in the report were grossly understated. For example, it says that informing employers of an employee's views was used only once in relation to the SWP. But the SWP and YSA suit has documented dozens of such cases.

The report also says that there were no instances in COINTELPRO records of attempts to recruit informers from the SWP, but then goes on to say, "It should be noted that many FBI field offices carried on this activity routinely but did not attribute it to a counterintelligence function but rather to the routine investigation of individuals or organizations."

Hard cop, soft cop

In their news conference, Saxbe and Kelley played a "hard cop/soft cop" routine, attempting to spruce up the



Selma to Montgomery civil rights march in 1965. FBI charges civil rights organizations with 'fomenting' ghetto rebellions.

FBI's image while at the same time maintain the government's options to continue the substance of its operations against the left, the Black movement, and the labor movement.

While Saxbe stated that disruption of political groups was "not something which we in a free society should condone," Kelley called for legislation explicitly giving the FBI the right to take such actions in domestic "emergencies."

However, Saxbe agreed that "the overwhelming bulk of [COINTELPRO] activities were clearly legitimate and proper undertakings, within the scope of the FBI's ongoing responsibilities."

In response to a question at the news conference, he replied that if someone were suspected of being a communist, "it is difficult to say if it would be legal or illegal to inform his employer."

Saxbe and Kelley expressed different views on whether COINTELPRO had been approved by the Justice Department, the White House, and top congressional leaders. Saxbe tried to throw the entire blame for COINTELPRO on J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, warning that attorneys general had to "assert authority over the FBI because this could happen again if we are not vigilant."

Kelley, on the other hand, reported that higher officials had been informed of FBI activities all along.

Both Saxbe and Kelley tried to justify COINTELPRO by claiming that the Black liberation movement, student movement, and antiwar movement of the 1960s were movements of violence.

In lurid detail, the Justice Department-FBI report refers to an alleged "atmosphere of lawlessness" in the 1960s, when "mobs overturned vehicles, set fires, and damaged public and private property." The report says that during these years there were 300 arsons or attempted arsons and 14 bombings. It even mentions a supposed plot "to poison public water supplies."

Referring to the ghetto rebellions, it accuses civil rights groups and the Black Panthers of the "fostering and fomenting of riots and other civil disturbances in cities all across the land."

FBI bombing record

Peter Camejo answered this fabrication by explaining, "The record shows that in fact it was the FBI informers and agents provocateurs who were the avid bombers during this whole period."

He cited the testimony of Larry Grantwohl, the former FBI informer who worked within Students for a Democratic Society and the Weathermen. Grantwohl told how, as a munitions expert, he provided the Weathermen with their technical know-how for making bombs and was one of the most active and outspoken members of the group.

"Then there was Robert Hardy," Camejo went on, "the FBI informer who testified in the Camden 28 trial that he had been responsible for making sure that that raid on a draft board took place."

And also, he said, there was William Lemmer, who proposed that the Vietnam Veterans Against the War carry out an armed attack on the 1972 Republican Party convention and "counseled, aided, and abetted" an attempt to bomb a campus building in Fayetteville, Ark.

"And as for the ghetto rebellions," Camejo said, "they were caused not by the violence of any 'Black extremists,' but by the day-to-day violence of the poverty, police brutality, and unemployment that the masses of Black people have to suffer in this country."

Camejo concluded his remarks at the news conference by demanding "that the government immediately cease all spying and disruption of groups because of their ideas; that all the FBI documents on these subjects be made public; and that those in the government guilty of authorizing and covering up these crimes be prosecuted."

Defense fund benefit hears Boudin

By ARLENE RUBENSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—Folk singer Malvina Reynolds and writer Paul Jacobs joined other supporters of civil liberties in attending an "Evening for the Bill of Rights," sponsored here Nov. 8 by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

The benefit won important new support and raised \$1,000 for the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment.

Constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, who is representing the socialists, was the featured speaker. He told the gathering, "We can stop the government from making a mockery of the Bill of Rights. In this regard, the SWP and YSA suit is a model case which I believe is one of the most important in the history of the country."

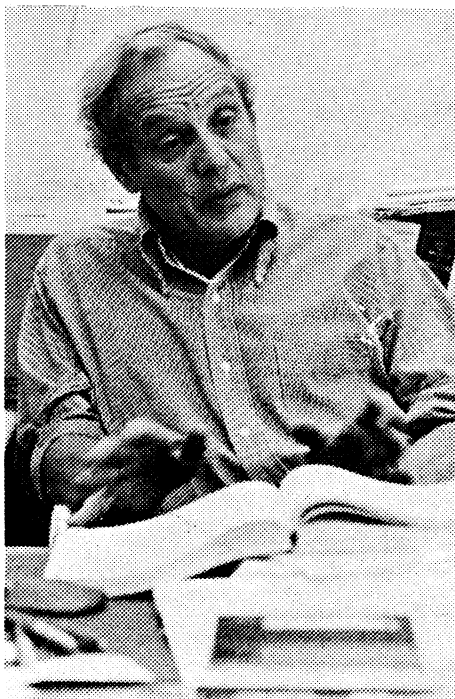
Among those who endorsed the PRDF during the benefit were Al Richmond, former editor of the *People's World*; actor Kevin McCarthy;

and Professor Douglas Dowd.

Boudin stressed that the SWP and YSA suit is "especially important for educating the American people about the injustices committed by the government. . . . It is already producing a great amount of material from secret FBI files."

Citing the FBI's threats to spy on the upcoming YSA convention in St. Louis, Boudin asserted that "various government agencies are continuing their policy of disrupting the lawful activities of the SWP and YSA. . . . The government must not be allowed to continue this interference."

Sponsors of the PRDF from this area include: attorneys Vincent Hallinan and Charles Garry; writer Jessica Mitford; Carlton Goodlett, editor of the *San Francisco Sun Reporter*; the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women; and Walter Johnson, executive secretary-treasurer, Retail Clerks Local 1100.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

BOUDIN: "We must stop government mockery of Bill of Rights."

Students face Thieu's prisons

Seven Vietnamese fight for asylum in U.S.

By GEORGE JOHNSON

LOS ANGELES—When Vu Ngoc Con left South Vietnam in 1968 to study engineering at Northrup Institute of Technology, he had little awareness of the nature of the war in his country.

As he puts it, "Because of the Saigon propaganda machine, a lot of young students my age couldn't understand the reality of the war and the nature of the American involvement in South Vietnam. The propaganda machine misled these young people to believe that the U.S. government was helping the Vietnamese fight a communist invasion."

But Vu Ngoc Con, like hundreds of thousands of others, no longer believes the lies of the Saigon propaganda machine. He and other Vietnamese students in this country have spoken out and acted against the Thieu regime's repressive policies and against the war in Vietnam.

The Thieu regime is trying to force Vu Ngoc Con, and six other Vietnamese students in the United States, to return to South Vietnam. If they are returned, they face certain imprisonment and torture, and possible death.

The U.S. government, true to its long-established practice of aiding in any way possible its clients in Saigon, is attempting to deport these seven Vietnamese.

In June 1972 Vu Ngoc Con got a letter from the State Department informing him that the "Government of the Republic of Vietnam has requested that the Government of the United States terminate your training program. . . . In compliance with this

changed after they came here, and they told about the Saigon and U.S. governments' persecution.

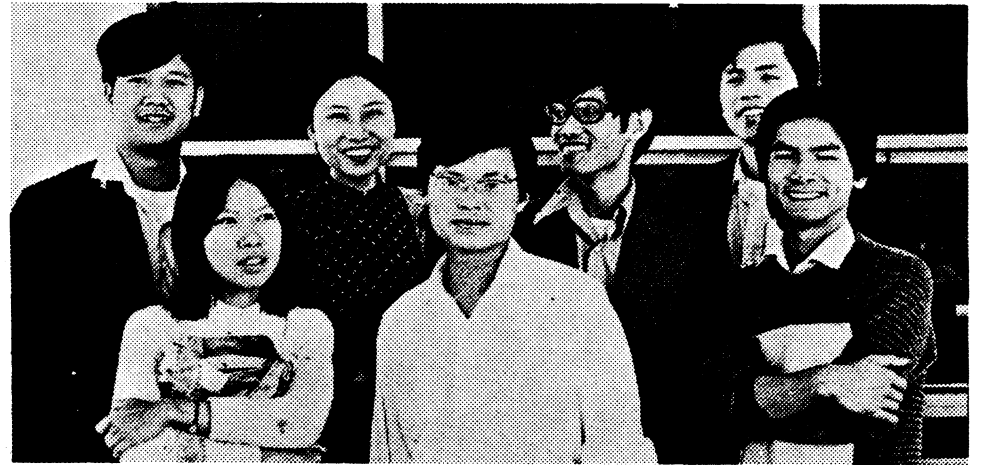
U.S. terror bombing

They had begun to have doubts that they were being told the truth about the war before they left. Although as city residents they had little contact with Vietnamese peasants, some had relatives living in the countryside who told them the truth about U.S. terror bombing. Nguyen Hoang told how his cousin had described her treatment by U.S. troops. "They came from a helicopter and arrested her and her son," he said, "and treated them like they weren't even human. They were driven out of their own village and made refugees. The U.S. and Saigon said they ran away from the 'communists,' but they were running away from the bombing."

Nguyen Hoang also learned that Saigon propaganda about the liberation troops was not true. "Almost my whole block was controlled by the liberation forces. They didn't harm the people. I'd heard about 'communists' killing people, about how they're supposed to enjoy it. But it was not that way."

Two others of the seven were in Hue during Tet and witnessed the terrible destruction of the old imperial city by U.S. warplanes and artillery.

The impact of large numbers of U.S. troops in Vietnam also helped raise doubts about the U.S. role there. Doan Thi Nam Hua said that when U.S. soldiers came to Vietnam in large numbers, "I was in the cities, so I didn't have a chance to see the direct



Students facing deportation are (left to right) Bui Van Dao, Doan Thi Nam Hau, Cao Thi My Loc, Nguyen Huu An, Nguyen Hoang, Vu Ngoc Con, Nguyen Dang Yen Truc.

Here, he and the others were able to read for the first time books and periodicals critical of the war, and they came in contact with activists in the antiwar movement.

His reading and discussions with friends, he said, "had a strong influence on my mind. I came to realize that as a Vietnamese in this country, I had to do something in connection with the people back home to stop the fighting."

The publication of the Pentagon papers had what Boan Thi Nam Hua called "a big effect. This made many things very clear." She explained that the Saigon regime would allow only its own—entirely false—version of the pre-1954 independence struggle to be taught or published.

Armed with the facts about U.S. aggression in their country, these Vietnamese students began to speak and act against the war. Vu Ngoc Con said, "I talked with Vietnamese friends at school about the war. In April 1971 I appeared in public with two American friends at a news conference on the Vietnam war. I took part in a big San Francisco demonstration. My American friends were very active in it, also." He spoke at antiwar rallies, churches, and classes in Fresno, Calif.

The six other Vietnamese students had also become active against the war at about this time.

In February 1972, Vu Ngoc Con and 10 other Vietnamese took part in a protest at the South Vietnamese consulate in New York. "Four months later, we got the letters from the State Department," he said. All seven were called in for deportation hearings at about the same time.

Political asylum

They requested political asylum in this country until it is safe for them to return. Article 243(h) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act reads: "The Attorney General is authorized to withhold deportation of any alien . . . to any country in which in his opinion the alien would be subject to persecution on account of . . . political opinion."

The Thieu regime is notorious the world over for its repression. Some estimates put the number of political prisoners in South Vietnam at more than 200,000. Many prisoners are held in the famous "tiger cages." Torture and murder are common practices.

Nevertheless, on June 13 of this year, Joseph Sureck, Los Angeles district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS—the same *la migra* that is responsible for deporting thousands of Chicanos to Mexico because they lack "legal" papers), wrote to Vu Ngoc Con: ". . . after consultation with the Department

of State it has been concluded that you would not be subject to persecution if you returned to Vietnam."

The seven students have used the INS hearings to present a number of witnesses to prove the truth, that the Thieu regime intends to imprison them, as it has other opponents of the war. Cao Thi My Loc, one of the seven, has told the INS hearings of the example of students being sentenced to six years imprisonment by Saigon court-martial for antiwar activities outside Vietnam.

Next hearings

The next hearings are scheduled for Nov. 13-15 at the Federal Building in Los Angeles. These are the last hearings before INS, and the last opportunity for the seven to present evidence and call witnesses of the Thieu regime's repression. If the INS rules against them, which is likely, the next stage will be the courts.

A number of witnesses are to testify at the November INS hearings, including Don Luce and Fred Branfman, who have observed Thieu's prisons.

As before, the Vietnamese students are asking supporters to attend the hearings and to picket outside during the lunch hour.

They are gratified at the support they have gotten. Doan Thi Nam Hua told me, "Since the first hearing, we've received tremendous support. This is a very encouraging sign. It shows that the American people care about us, but also understand that there's still a war in South Vietnam."

A number of members of both houses of Congress support their case. Among them are Senators James Abourezk (D-S.D.), Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), and John Tunney (D-Calif.), and Representatives Glenn Anderson (D-Calif.), Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), George Brown (D-Calif.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), Don Edwards (D-Calif.), and others.

A victory in this case would encourage other foreign students and residents to speak out against the repression in their countries. The threat of deportation—which is very real to such foreign residents—would be less menacing. Thus, if the deportations are stopped in this case, it would be a civil liberties breakthrough for the right of noncitizens to take part in politics.

Letters of protest, which the Vietnamese students have requested, should be sent to Attorney General William Saxbe or to the INS district director, Joseph Sureck, 300 N. Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90010. Messages of solidarity should be sent to Nguyen Hoang, Box 3493, Fullerton, Calif. 92634.



April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration. Vietnamese students are threatened with deportation because they spoke out against war and participated in protests like this.

request, your program has been terminated effective June 1, 1972."

The other six got similar letters at about the same time.

None of the seven had opposed U.S. intervention in Vietnam before they left Saigon, although they had begun to question it. It is safe to say, on the record of the Saigon government's harsh persecution of dissenters, that they would not have been allowed to come here had the Saigon regime not considered them "reliable."

In an interview with *The Militant*, several of the Vietnamese Seven described how their views on the war

effect of the war on my people. But what I could see was the destruction of the social fabric. What tore your heart was the presence of more and more bars. Every day when I went to school I had to pass them. Before, there were no bars, and no prostitutes."

Learning the truth

But the biggest change in these students' consciousness of the war came after they were in this country. Vu Ngoc Con smiled ironically as he said, "I had to go to the United States to learn the truth about Vietnam."

21 areas meet goals

Dick Gregory's praise for Militant boosts sales

By ROSE OGDEN

Our supporters in 21 areas met their weekly sales goals with the Nov. 15 *Militant*, headlined "What miners are fighting for."

This is more than half of the cities reporting. The total sold nationally was 9,139, which is 95 percent of our goal of selling 9,600 single copies each week.

The 15 Young Socialist teams sold more than their goal of 1,500 copies.

Sales were particularly good at a variety of political events.

Two of the cities leading the scoreboard—Nashville, Tenn., and San Diego—sold at meetings where Dick Gregory spoke.

Becky Mitchell sent in this report from Nashville: "Following Gregory's speech, I spoke on *The Militant's* coverage of the FBI plot to crush the Black movement. Gregory repeated my remarks and announced that *The Militant* would be available out front. The two sales people were swamped and we sold the 22 *Militants* we had on hand as well as copies of *The Militant's* reprint of the FBI memos. Also we sold a subscription and many people requested a subscription blank."

On the San Diego State campus, Gregory also recommended *The Militant*. Jessica Starr reports that "during his talk he held a copy of *The Militant* and pointed out that it was a paper that provided facts you wouldn't find elsewhere. After the meeting people lined up to buy a copy. In 10 minutes we sold 130."

In New York City 86 copies were sold at the demonstration in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization, held at the UN. Upper West Side supporters from New York also sold 15 *Militant* subscriptions to participants at that rally.

Detroit sold 40 copies at an Arab demonstration that took place in Dearborn, Mich., and Chicagoans and supporters from Central-East Los Angeles sold at Palestinian support actions held in their cities.

Twin Cities sold 90 copies at a Militant Forum that featured Bernadette Devlin speaking on the defense of political prisoners in Ireland.

Pittsburgh supporters sold at a

United Mine Workers of America strike-support action and an anti-inflation demonstration.

Although the elections are over, socialist campaigning against inflation, unemployment, racism, and sexism continues.

Members of the Upper West Side branch of the Socialist Workers Party are holding *Militant* street rallies in Harlem. Sales director Mike Lux explains:

"Our *Militant* sales have been expanded into a weekly forum to build support for the struggles of the oppressed and to introduce people to the socialist alternative. We hold a rally of four or five speakers explaining the socialist perspective on the issues facing working people today. In addition to selling copies of *The Militant* and subscriptions, we distribute leaflets on the Dec. 14 Freedom March in Boston."

Militant supporters throughout the country are actively helping to build the Dec. 14 march on Boston. Sales of *The Militant* will help to publicize and broaden support for this national demonstration against racist opponents of desegregation. Our supporters will be taking this coverage to the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities; to the campuses; to work places and union meetings; and to political events.

We appeal to all our readers to join us in this effort. The capitalist newspapers are continuing to cover up the truth about Boston, and they have failed to give this important national protest coverage. *The Militant*, on the other hand, will provide extensive reports on organizing activities for Dec. 14.

To receive a weekly bundle of *Militants* to sell in your city, simply clip out the coupon on page 27 and send it in to the business office.

The drive to obtain 12,000 new subscribers is now up to 10,344. Our supporters are winding up the drive with final blitzes on campuses and in the Black community. The support of all our readers will assure going over the top. Invite your friends and co-workers to take advantage of *The Militant's* introductory offer of \$1 for two months.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Eighty-six Militants and 15 subs were sold at pro-Palestinian rally in New York City

Sales scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
East Lansing, Mich.	50	83	166
Nashville, Tenn.	27	40	148
Shippensburg, Pa.	10	13	130
San Diego	275	350	127
Edinboro, Pa.	40	50	125
Indianapolis	40	50	125
San Antonio, Tex.	25	30	120
Kingston, R.I.	20	24	120
St. Louis	400	442	111
Detroit	600	638	106
San Francisco	450	479	106
Denver	325	346	106
Pittsburgh	375	392	105
L.A. (Central-East)	450	463	103
Cleveland	350	362	103
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	434	102
Philadelphia	400	404	101
Atlanta	475	475	100
Twin Cities	400	401	100
St. Cloud, Minn.	15	15	100
Urbana, Ill.	5	5	100
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	39	98
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	450	421	94
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	365	91
Logan, Utah	40	36	90
Oakland/Berkeley	700	605	86
Lawrence, Kans.	43	36	84
Portland, Ore.	300	238	79
Chicago	250	196	78
Columbus, Ohio	50	36	72
Boston	600	423	71
Seattle	350	250	71
Washington, D.C.	400	278	70
Cincinnati	50	35	70
Milwaukee	150	103	69
Houston	500	340	68
L.A. (West Side)	400	228	57
Tallahassee, Fla.	25	14	56
TOTAL	9,600	9,139	95

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS		
Missouri	100	182 182
Colorado	100	163 163
Ohio/Kentucky	100	148 148
Michigan/Indiana	100	137 137
Northern Calif.	100	131 131
N.Y./N.J./Conn.	100	117 117
Upper Midwest	100	116 116
Illinois/Wis.	100	102 102
New England	100	101 101
Pennsylvania	100	100 100
Mid-Atlantic	100	88 88
Texas	100	88 88
Southeast	100	50 50
Southern Calif.	100	40 40
Northwest	100	31 31
TOTAL	1,500	1,594 106

CoDEL launches fight against disclosure laws

By ANDREA MORELL

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced Nov. 12 that it is launching a campaign to help organize support and publicity for a lawsuit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on behalf of the Socialist Workers 1974 campaign committees.

The suit, filed Sept. 10 in federal district court in Washington, D.C., challenges the constitutionality of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as applied to the socialist campaign committees.

CoDEL is urging the formation of local CoDEL chapters to help win support for this national effort and to organize support for similar suits against state disclosure laws.

The sections challenged in the federal law would require the committees to make available to the government the names, addresses, occupations, and business addresses of contributors of more than \$10 and of persons to whom the committee made payments exceeding \$10.

The Socialist Workers Party objects to providing the government with this information, citing decades of surveillance and harassment of those associated with the SWP by the FBI and



Noam Chomsky, one of the sponsors of Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

other government agencies.

The campaign committees have refused to turn over the names, pending the outcome of the suit.

This governmental harassment of the SWP has been well documented as the result of a suit filed last year on behalf of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance against top government officials by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan. Support for this suit is being organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

CoDEL is a nonpartisan organization whose aims are to initiate and support legal challenges to discriminatory local, state, or national election laws and regulations that deny access to the ballot or voting rights to any individual or party.

Among its sponsors are linguist Noam Chomsky, Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), former senator Eugene McCarthy, New York feminist Florynce Kennedy, screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, José Angel Gutiérrez of La Raza Unida Party in Texas, and Luis Fuentes, superintendent of New

York City school District 1, who was recently suspended for his pro-community-control stance.

In a letter to sponsors Nov. 13, CoDEL's national office explained the basis of its support to the antidisclosure suit: "This suit protects our right to hear the views of parties such as the SWP. If allowed to stand, the forced disclosure of SWP contributors would aid and abet the FBI and other federal agencies in their efforts to prevent this party from expressing its views."

CoDEL sponsors were urged to sign the "Open Letter" to John Gardner, the head of Common Cause, demanding that the so-called citizen's lobby reverse its opposition to the socialists' civil liberties. Common Cause actively opposes the socialist campaign committees' right to exemption from the disclosure provisions and has entered the federal suit on the side of the government.

The ACLU is covering the legal expenses of the federal suit and several of the state challenges.

Calendar

CHICAGO

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN WEEKEND, Nov. 29-30. Fri., Nov. 29, 7:30 p.m.: The crisis of world capitalism—how it is affecting the U.S. Sat., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m.: Prospects for socialism. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers mayoral campaign.

CLEVELAND

THE LESSONS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION FOR TODAY. Speaker: Bruce Kimball, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Avenue, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

ATTICA. Speakers: Bill Goodman, Attica Brothers Legal Defense (ABLD) attorney; Reverend Strobe-Smith, ABLD and mother of Bernard (Shango) Strobe; Don Bechler, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, NOV. 29-30. Fri., Nov. 29, 8 p.m.: Is the U.S. headed for a depression? Speaker: Dan Styron, 1974 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California; Sat., Nov. 30, 12 noon: The 1974 elections: new low in two-party politics. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, chairperson, 1974 California Socialist Workers campaign committee; 2:30 p.m.: Nationalism and internationalism: the Marxist view. Speaker: Clifton DeBerry, national committee member, SWP; 4 p.m.: Deepening world crisis: Is socialism the answer? Speaker: Andrew Pulley, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. 710 S. Westlake, Los Angeles. Donation: \$1 per session, \$3 for entire weekend. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

SAN FRANCISCO

CUBA TODAY: A BALANCE SHEET. Speaker: Harry Ring, editor, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Nov. 29, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

ACTIVISTS' CONFERENCE ON PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM. Sat., Nov. 30, 11 a.m.: Current Trends in the Labor Movement. Speaker: Mary Hillery; 4 p.m.: The Black liberation struggle. Speaker: August Nimtz; 7 p.m.: dinner; 8 p.m.: Feminism and Marxism. Speaker: Jane Van Deusen; Sun., Dec. 1, 12 noon and 3 p.m.: Prospects for socialism. Speaker: Jack Barnes. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1 per session, \$2.50 for dinner, or \$6.50 for entire weekend. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Boston

Continued from page 15

said, "The 15,000 children and their parents in school District 1 . . . join the Black parents and children of Bos-

ton in their struggle to seek a quality education in their community schools or in neighboring schools. . . .

"We salute you and stand beside you in your trials. We will urge many people to attend the protest demonstration in Boston on December 14."

As organizing activities for the Dec. 14 Freedom March get under way, the racist forces in Boston have stepped up their offensive. They are hoping for the largest turnout of the fall at a Nov. 24 rally in East Boston Stadium. They have also called for a Thanksgiving week boycott of all schools.

Under a federal court ruling, the Boston school committee has until Dec. 16 to come up with a final desegregation plan for all of Boston. The reactionaries are waging a sustained campaign to beat back desegregation that includes violent attacks on Blacks. Their continued offensive underlines the importance of the Dec. 14 action.

For further information on the Dec. 14 action contact the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, 634 Massachusetts Ave., Room 207, Cambridge, Mass. 02139; telephone: (617) 876-9295.

...UFW

Continued from page 21

For example, an article by *Los Angeles Times* labor specialist Harry Bernstein this past March 29 was summed up in its headline: "Teamsters Open Massive Drive to Eliminate Chavez Farm Union—Stepped Up Campaign Will Be Directed at Workers in the Field Instead of Concentrating on Grower Pacts."

More recently a cover article in the Sept. 15 *New York Times Magazine*, entitled "Is Chavez Beaten?" asserted: "The Teamsters union now has more than 350 contracts, and it is getting more every month. . . . The Teamsters are also moving beyond their victories . . . with grape and lettuce growers to organize workers in other crops and in new geographic areas."

The Militant, on the other hand, characterized the announced Teamster drive from the outset as a public relations swindle.

This month, when the Teamsters terminated their "organizing drive," they gave current membership figures that were exactly the same as the ones

they gave nine months ago.

And those "members" are simply field workers forced to work and pay dues under contracts that they've never seen, much less approved.

...vets

Continued from page 19

of the galloping inflation—is the inadequate money available for education under the present GI Bill. A single veteran receives only \$220 a month and a married veteran, \$261.

However, since this bill was passed in 1971, the cost of living has gone up more than 30 percent—12 percent of that in the past year.

Because of protest and pressure on the part of veterans, Congress was forced to pass an increase in the GI Bill that would raise educational benefits by 23 percent. This is still short of the increase in the cost of living, but it is at least a step in the right direction. Under the provisions of the new bill, a single veteran would receive \$270 and a married veteran would receive \$320 a month.

All indications are, however, that President Ford plans to veto the bill because it would be "inflationary." Veterans groups across the country are organizing in an effort to force Ford to sign the bill. They've pointed to things such as the massive military spending of the government as being the real source of inflation and have demanded their right to a decent standard of living. If Ford vetoes the new bill, thousands of Vietnam veterans will no longer be able to afford to go to school.

The hardships of unemployment and lack of adequate benefits described by veterans like Carl Snipe and Richard Hampton are severe—and these are the GIs who received honorable discharges. The plight of veterans with less-than-honorable discharges will be the subject of a future article.

...Mideast

Continued from page 8

come the economic backwardness and artificial divisions among them.

It must oppose the social revolution inside the Arab countries, which would lay the basis for their industrialization. It must oppose the anti-impe-

rialist steps taken by Arab nationalist regimes as a means of winning greater control over their resources. And it must oppose the right of the Palestinians to live in their homeland. The character of the Israeli settler-colony ensures that there will be no peace in the Middle East as long as it exists.

That is why, despite the slanders of the Palestinian fighters as "barbarians" and "murderers," it was Yasir Arafat, calling for a democratic, secular Palestine, who proposed the only genuine program for peace in the Middle East that the United Nations has ever heard.

Readings on the Mideast

ISRAEL AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION: Fundamental Principles of Revolutionary Marxism by Gus Horowitz, an EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS publication, 8x11 format, \$1.00

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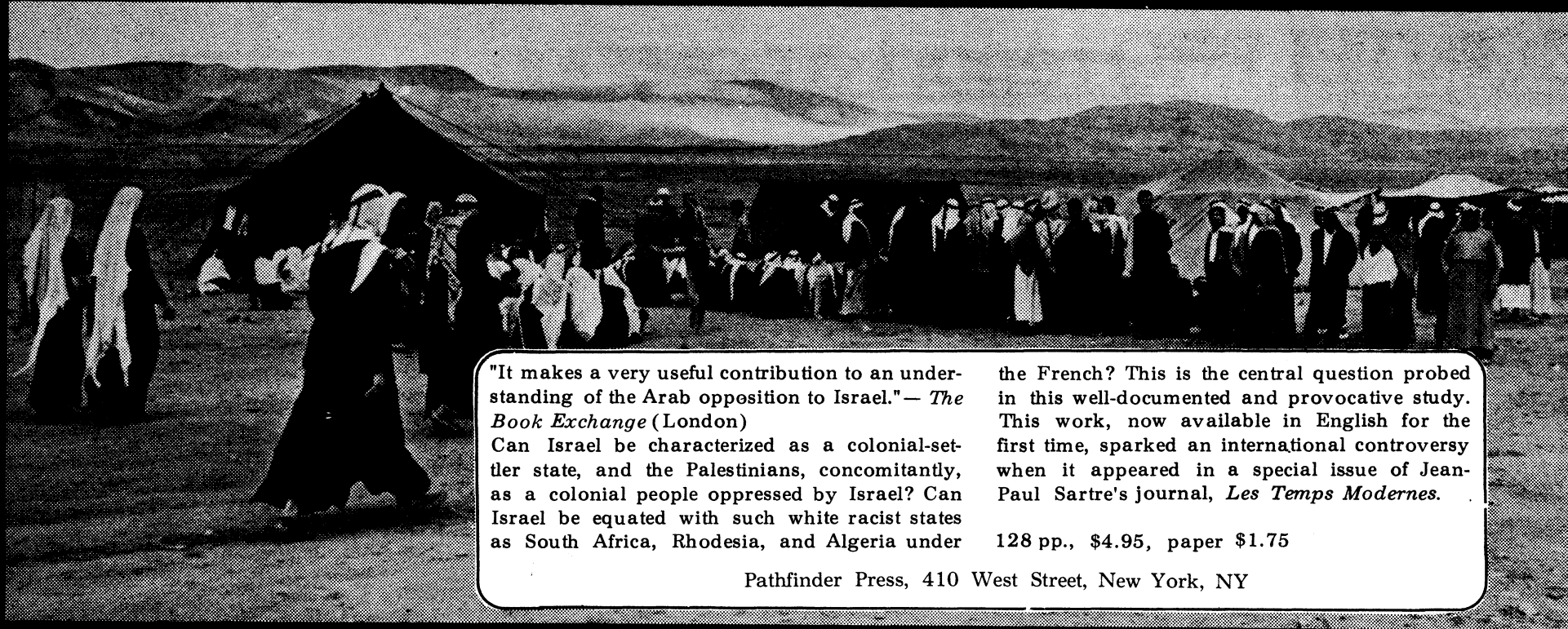
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Maxime Rodinson

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COINTELPRO report a cover-up

Socialists demand: open all FBI files!

By CAROLINE LUND

The Justice Department admitted Nov. 18 that for 15 years the Federal Bureau of Investigation has carried out "practices that can only be considered abhorrent in a free society" in the course of its campaign of sabotage against political, "New Left," and Black organizations.

Attorney General William Saxbe conceded that the FBI may well have violated the civil rights of persons associated with these groups and that the government could be sued for damages in such cases.

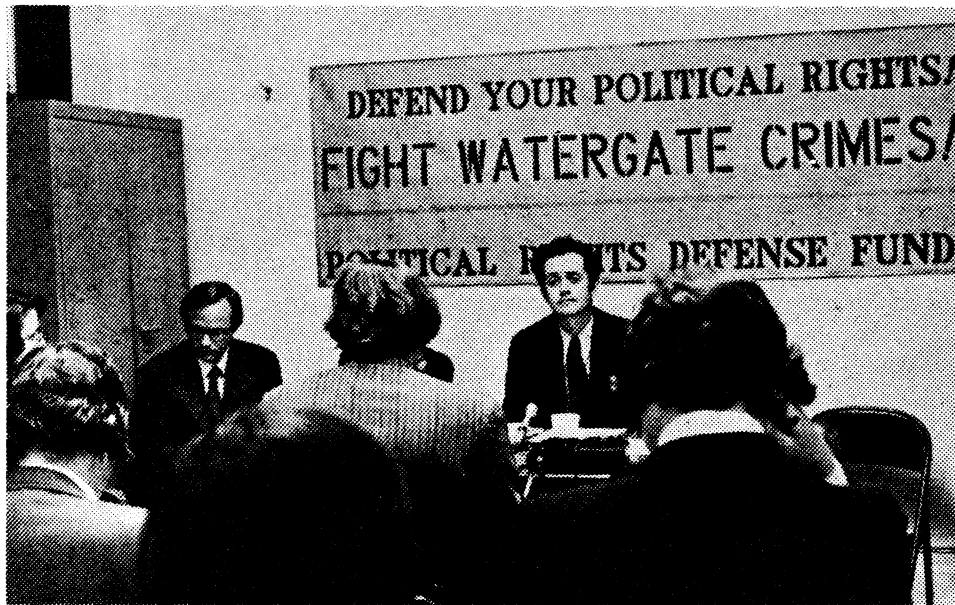
A 21-page report released by Saxbe and FBI Director Clarence Kelley provides further details of the "counter-intelligence" programs (called COINTELPROs) directed against the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the "New Left," "Black extremist organizations," and "White Hate groups."

In FBI language, "New Left" referred to such groups as Students for a Democratic Society and the Young Socialist Alliance, while "Black extremists" encompassed groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panther Party, and the Nation of Islam.

The report says the COINTELPRO activities against these groups were expanded in the 1960s because of supposed "threats to domestic order"—by which is obviously meant the rise of the Black liberation struggle and the antiwar movement. The objective of the COINTELPROs was "the disruption of the group's activities; or the disruption, exposure and neutralization thereof."



SAXBE: Blames it all on FBI



Peter Camejo at news conference to answer Saxbe: 'FBI methods are illegal.'

The types of methods the FBI now admits to using include:

- Giving the arrest record of group members to "friendly" newspapers, to courts, and to employers.

- Informing employers, landlords, credit bureaus, parents, and other associates of a member's "illegal, immoral, radical" activities with the aim of "adversely affecting their economic interests."

- Sending anonymous and false materials to members or groups "to create dissension and cause disruption within the various groups."

- Interviewing members "for the purpose of letting [them] know that the FBI was aware of their activity and also in an attempt to develop them as informants."

- "... advising the mother of a group leader that his actions would put him in danger; forging of a group's business card for informant purposes; reproducing a group leader's signature stamp; obtaining tax returns of members of a group; reproducing a group's recruiting card; and investigating the love life of a group leader for dissemination to the press."

At a news conference to present the Justice Department report, Saxbe claimed that what he called "improper" actions by the FBI were only "isolated excesses" and were stopped in 1971, when, he claimed, "all [COINTELPRO] programs were discontinued."

"Rather than merely 'improper,' I would call them illegal," said SWP leader Peter Camejo at a news conference Nov. 20 called to respond to Saxbe and Kelley.

The SWP, together with the Young

Socialist Alliance, filed a suit last year challenging the constitutionality of government harassment of antiwar, civil rights, and radical political groups. In this suit the socialists are demanding the release of full details on the COINTELPRO programs.

Also present at the news conference were Jude Coren of the Young Socialist Alliance; Herbert Jordan, one of the attorneys for the suit; and Catherine Perkus of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the civil liberties organization that is building support for the suit.

"These revelations are important to every American," Camejo stated, "especially those who are involved in the

Black liberation struggle, the labor movement, or were active in the antiwar movement. What they mean is that if the FBI doesn't like your ideas, you might be the victim of the same methods."

In answer to Saxbe's claims that the FBI only "investigates" groups for criminal activity, Camejo stated, "That is a flat lie."

"In its answer to our suit, the FBI admitted that 'investigations are conducted with respect to people who indicate they are members of the SWP.' It is not a crime to be a member of the SWP. We are a legal political organization that runs candidates and is trying to win a majority of the American people to our views."

He continued: "The FBI admits that it began investigating us in 1945, and yet in 30 years there has never been a single federal indictment against a single member of the SWP. Their attacks on our party are clearly based on our socialist ideas, not on any charge that we are engaged in criminal activity."

Herbert Jordan noted that the Justice Department report indisputably confirms the charges made in the SWP and YSA suit.

"Our suit," he said, "filed in July of 1973, was not based on any inside dope, but rather on the very real experiences of hundreds of members and supporters of the SWP and the YSA that drove them to seek redress. To anyone who reads this report, the correspondence with the charges in our

Continued on page 23

IRS dossiers on dissenters

On Nov. 18, the same day the Justice Department released its report on FBI disruption methods against the left, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) was forced to disclose documents outlining another vast campaign of illegal surveillance and harassment.

From 1969 through 1973 the IRS compiled dossiers on more than 11,000 groups and individuals suspected of being "ideological, militant, subversive, and radical." The operation was carried out by a special unit called the Activist Organizations Committee, later called the Special Services Staff.

The unit was set up on Nixon's orders by White House aide Tom Charles Huston. Huston was the author of the secret 1970 plan for use of illegal methods of disruption against the antiwar movement,

Black movement, and socialist organizations.

Huston told the IRS officials that Nixon wanted "to move against leftist organizations."

The blacklist includes such diverse groups as Americans for Democratic Action, the Urban League, the National Council of Churches, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Militant Labor Forum, Black Student Union, Communist Party, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Free Speech Movement, Organization of Afro-American Unity, Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the Welfare Rights Organization.

The secret documents were disclosed as a result of a suit under the Freedom of Information Act by Ralph Nader's Tax Reform Research Group.